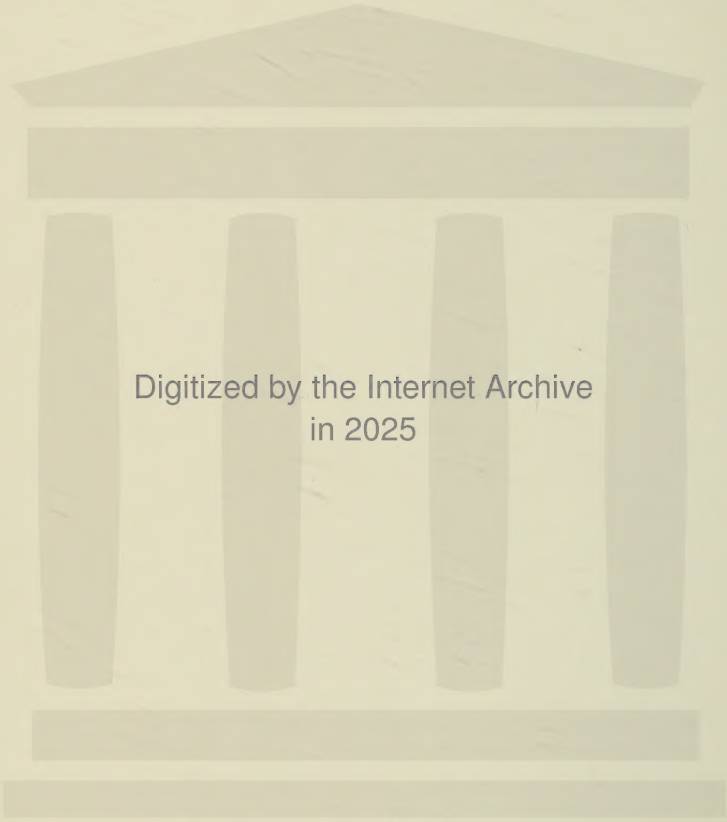

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VOLUME IV

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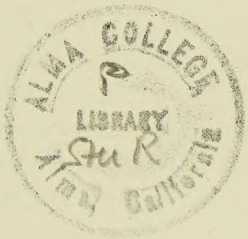
VOLUME IV



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FOREWORD

THE fourth volume of *Studies in the Renaissance* appears in a new typographical dress which the Editorial Board owes to the expert advice of Professor Ray Nash.

The society is indebted to the following members who, in addition to the Editorial Board, have read some of the material submitted for publication: Leicester Bradner, Allan G. Chester, Donald M. Frame, Henry J. Webb, Edward Williamson, W. Gordon Zeeveld.

A fifth volume of *Studies in the Renaissance* may be expected in the first half of the year 1958. Members who wish to submit papers for the consideration of the Editorial Board are invited to do so without delay. The policy of the Editorial Board, in view of the youth of the society, is still more or less tentative and experimental. While the first consideration is of course quality, in selecting papers for publication the board aims at representing as many as possible of the interests and disciplines from which our members are drawn. Ideally perhaps there should be an occasional study from every field in which our members are active, and as a matter of fact every field but music and the history of science has already supplied at least one contribution. The board has tried to define a policy for *Studies in the Renaissance* which will be distinctive of it, and it has therefore favored studies which do not fall wholly within the scope of other scholarly journals, particularly the philological journals. This is a criterion which the board has tried to apply with the utmost discretion, but it cannot regard *Studies in the Renaissance* simply as a receptacle for the overflow from other media of publication. Inasmuch as a main object of the society is to promote the exchange of ideas and points of view among scholars of the most diverse tendencies who nevertheless have in common an interest in the Renaissance, the board is eager to publish studies which, regardless of the field of specialization of their authors, might suggest fresh perspectives and analogies to workers in other areas, and it takes some satisfaction in having provided a not inconsiderable amount of material of this kind.

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The Pseudo-Zoroastrian Oracles in the Renaissance

TO THE learned men of the classical period, of the middle ages and of the Renaissance, the name of Zoroaster was not unknown and many of the classical and medieval authors wrote descriptions of his life and writings.[1] However, the picture of the ancient sage which writers such as Pliny, Porphyry, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Arnobius, Suidas, and many others presented was very short, incomplete, and often quite confusing and erroneous. Zoroaster was variously spoken of as an Assyrian, a Persian, a Mede, a Persomede, a Chaldean, and as a king of the Bactrians. He was also held to be the creator of magic, the founder of astrology, and the author of numerous works on philosophy, nature, magic, alchemy, and astrology.[2]

Of especial interest for the present discussion is the close relationship between Plato and Zoroaster which existed in the minds of many of the ancient writers and even among some modern authorities.[3] For example, Zoroastrian dualism is supposedly reflected in the struggle between the good and evil world-souls found in Plato's *Laws* (10, 896E). Plato's interest in Persia and Zoroastrianism is also evident in the *First Alcibiades* (121E–122A).[4] Hermodorus, Eudoxus, and Heraclides Ponticus, three disciples of Plato, were also known to be interested in Zoroastrianism.[5]

[1] These descriptive passages may be found assembled in Joseph Bidez and Franz Cumont, *Les mages hellénisés* (Paris, 1938), II, 7–92, and in A. V. Williams Jackson, *Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran* (New York, 1899), pp. 226–273.

[2] The *Zend-Avesta*, for which Zoroaster is known today, was not brought to Europe until the eighteenth century.

[3] For a detailed discussion of this relationship, see Milton V. Anastos, 'Pletho's Calendar and Liturgy', in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, No. 4 (Cambridge, Mass., 1948), 283–289; J. Bidez, *Eos ou Platon et l'Orient* (Brussels, 1945).

[4] Werner Jaeger, *Aristotle, Fundamentals of the History of his Development* (Oxford, 1934), pp. 132–133; Paul Shorey, *What Plato Said* (Chicago, 1933), pp. 417–654.

[5] Pliny, *Naturalis historia*, 30, 1, 3; Plutarch, *Adversus Coloten*, 14 (1115A); Bidez-Cumont, *Mages*, I, 12–15, 80–84, 113; II, 2, 9, 25, 66, 68.

Aristotle in the *Metaphysics* (1091b) names the Persian magi, the followers of Zoroaster, as being among the earliest forerunners of Plato's dualism. Enthusiasm for Zoroaster was high in the Academy where 'it heightened the historical self-consciousness of the school to think that Plato's doctrine of the Good as a divine and universal principle had been revealed to eastern humanity by an Oriental prophet thousands of years before'.[6] Plato, it is said, may have learned Persian philosophy (magic) from a Chaldean member of the Academy in Athens,[7] or such knowledge could have been derived during a supposed visit to Phoenicia.[8] The magic (Μαγική) which Plato is supposed to have learned from the magi or other learned Persians was not the art associated today with any occult power such as sorcery, necromancy, or conjuration, but rather a specialized worship of the gods. For example, in the *First Alcibiades* (122A) the magic of Zoroaster is explained as being none other than the service of the gods in which the Persian kings instructed their sons.[9]

In the classical and medieval periods, a part of the Platonic tradition centered about the so-called *Oracula Chaldaica*. These Greek *logia*, or oracles, were made up of Platonic, neo-Pythagorean, Stoic, Gnostic, and Persian elements, and were probably compiled by a certain Julianus late in the second century A.D. Their contents, held to be a revelation from God, dealt with such doctrines as the freeing of the soul from its human prison so that it might be reunited with God, of whom it was originally a part. Only those initiated in the mysteries of the cult could hope to achieve this goal. A host of lesser gods and good (angels) and bad demons play a role in the cosmology of the oracles. Much influence of Plato's *Timaeus* is evident. Christian sources are not apparent, but the poem reminds one of the literature of the Christian Gnosis.[10] Among the Neoplatonists especially, these oracles had a position of respect, and a supposed similarity between them and the teachings of Plato was often

[6] Jaeger, *op. cit.*, pp. 133–134.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 132, n. 1.

[8] Cf. the sources, one of whom is Olympiodorus, in Bidez-Cumont, *Mages*, II, 41.

[9] Porphyry, *De abstinentia*, 4, 16, says, 'Among the Persians, those who understood the divine and serve it are called the Magi, for that is what "Magus" means in their language'; see Bidez-Cumont, *Mages*, I, 11, 94, n. 1, 144–145; II, 67–68.

[10] On the *Oracula Chaldaica*, see W. Kroll, *De Oraculis Chaldaicis* (*Breslauer philologische Abhandlungen* VII, 1, Breslau, 1894); *idem*, 'Die chaldäischen Orakel', *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, N. F. L (1895), 636–639; Willy Theiler, 'Die Chaldäischen Orakel und die Hymnen des Synesius', *Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft*, XVIII (1942), 1–41; Bidez-Cumont, *Mages*, I, 159–163; II, 251–263. On Julianus, see W. Kroll, 'Iulianos', in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, X, 15–17.

fancied. Porphyry, Iamblichus, and Syrianus wrote treatises, now lost, on the oracles, while Proclus went so far as to say, 'If I had the power, I would allow of all the ancient books only the [Chaldean] *Oracles* and the *Timaeus* to be preserved, but all the other books I would conceal from the present generation, because those who read them carelessly or without attention can only be harmed'.[11] Proclus is supposed to have devoted five years to the composition of an extensive commentary, now lost, on the *Oracula Chaldaica*.[12] He also wrote, or edited, a work on the agreement of the oracles with the writings of Orpheus, Pythagoras, and Plato.[13] Michael Psellus, the celebrated Greek scholar and Platonist of the eleventh century, gathered the scattered fragments of the oracles and wrote commentaries and expositions on the Chaldean philosophy. These apparently had their ultimate source in extracts of the lost commentaries of Proclus. Psellus wished to reconcile the doctrines of the Chaldaic philosophy with Christianity.[14]

Petrarch included Zoroaster as the inventor of magical arts in his *Trionfo della fama*,[15] but, in the Renaissance, the name of Zoroaster became definitely associated with the *Oracula Chaldaica*. These, in turn, were incorporated in a broader and more inclusive religious-philosophical tradition which eventually became a part of a system supposedly in harmony with Christianity. The interest in the oracles during the Renaissance was primarily due to George Gemistus Pletho (*ca.* 1355–1452), who was the first to infer that Zoroaster and the magi were the source of the *Oracula Chaldaica*.[16] This spirited Byzantine philosopher, who greatly influ-

[11] Marinus, *Vita Procli*, ed. Victor Cousin, in *Procli philosophi Platonici opera inedita* (Paris, 1864), sec. XXXVIII; Laurence J. Rosán, *The Philosophy of Proclus* (New York, 1949), p. 35.

[12] Marinus, *Vita Procli*, sec. XXVI; on the extant fragments, see Albert Jahn, *Eclogae e Proclo de philosophia Chaldaica sive de doctrina Oraculorum Chaldaicorum* (Halle, 1891).

[13] E. R. Dodds, *Proclus, the Elements of Theology* (Oxford, 1933), xiv; *idem*, 'Theurgy and its Relationship to Neoplatonism', *Journal of Roman Studies*, XXXVII (1947), 55–56.

[14] Chr. Zervos, *Un philosophe néoplatonicien du XI^e siècle, Michel Psellos* (Paris, 1920), pp. 36–37, 162–165; J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, 122, 1123–1154; L. G. Westerink, 'Proclus, Procopius, Psellus', *Mnemosyne*, 3d ser. X (1941–42), 275–280; J. Bidez, *Catalogue des mss alchimiques grecs*, VI (Brussels, 1928), 83–86.

[15] *Triumphi del Petrarcha* (Venice, 1488), *Capitulo Terzo*, M. fol. 109.

[16] Nicolas of Damascus had already in the first century A. D. mentioned the 'Oracles of Zoroaster': Felix Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (Berlin, 1926), 2A, 372.32; 2C, 252; Bidez-Cumont, *Mages*, II, 81–82. Because Zoroaster was often cited in the ancient texts as a Chaldean, and since the followers of Zoroaster, the magi, were associated with the area of Persia-Chaldea, the natural inference was that Zoroaster must be the original author of the *Oracula Chaldaica*; cf. the discussion of this in Anastos, *op. cit.*, pp. 287–288.

enced the course of Platonism in the Renaissance, came to Italy with the Greek delegation to attend the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438–39). His learned lectures on Platonic mysticism, Marsilio Ficino tells us, inspired Cosimo de Medici to found the Florentine Platonic Academy.[17]

His success in Florence apparently led Pletho to try to introduce an universal religion which he hoped would soon replace both Christianity and Islam and help to restore his native country to her ancient dignity and prominence.[18] This religious philosophy was to be near to that of the ancient Greeks and embodied a long, unified, and continuous tradition that reached back through the Neoplatonists, Pythagoras, and Plato to the most ancient theologians and lawgivers. The original authors of Pletho's universal religion were six in number: Zoroaster; Eumolpus, the founder of the Eleusinian Mysteries; Minos, the Cretan lawgiver; Lycurgus, the Spartan legislator; Iphitus, the reviver of the Olympic games; and Numa, the author of the religious worship of the Romans.[19] To Pletho, Zoroaster 'was the oldest among those, of whom we know through tradition, who was the interpreter of the divine and most of the other noble things for the Medes and Persians and the majority of the other ancient Asiatic peoples'.[20] Zoroaster, 'the oldest expounder of the true dogma, who is said to have flourished 5,000 years before the return of the Heracleidae', was to be the ultimate fountainhead of Pletho's doctrines.[21] However, if Zoroaster is the most ancient author known to Pletho, he had not necessarily invented the philosophical principles, 'for they are as old as the universe and were always among mankind'.[22] Pletho also exhibits the traditional Greek disrespect for the ancient Egyptians in that he considered the legislation of Menes, the Egyptian lawgiver 'who is said to have lived 3,000 years before Zoroaster', to be incomplete and inferior. Only much later did the Egyptian priests come to know

[17] In the preface to Ficino's translation of Plotinus (1492); *Opera omnia* (Basel, 1561), II, 1537.

[18] Georgius Trapezuntius, *Comparationes phylosophorum Aristotelis et Platonis* (Venice, 1523), penultimate chapter. Pletho, unlike Psellus, wished to use the doctrines of the oracles to establish his own philosophy, which was not only different from Christianity but contrary to it.

[19] Pletho, *Traité des Lois* (*Nomoi*), ed. by C. Alexandre (Paris, 1858), p. 20; Fritz Schultze, *Georgios Gemistos Plethon und seine reformatorischen Bestrebungen* (*Geschichte der Philosophie der Renaissance* I, Jena, 1874), 135.

[20] *Nomoi*, pp. 30–31.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 252.

[22] *Ibid.*

doctrines comparable to those of Zoroaster.[23] Even the dogmas which the Brahmans and the Iberians possessed at the time of Zoroaster were inferior to those of the Persian sage.[24]

In his various writings Pletho emphasized the dependence of Plato on the much earlier teachings of Zoroaster, through Pythagoras:

> It is evident that many others, notably the Pythagoreans and the Platonists, have set forth views somewhat similar to the above-mentioned, which have come down from Zoroaster. The philosophy of Plato appears to be in complete harmony also with the Zoroastrian doctrines as expounded by Plutarch. Plutarch says that Zoroaster divided the universe into three categories, setting Ahura-Mazda over the first (and this is the Father mentioned in the *Oracula*), Ahriman over the third, and Mithra, who is the second mind mentioned in the *Oracula*, over the middle category.[25] . . . This agrees perfectly with those famous words of Plato: 'all things are related to the king of the universe, and all things exist on account of him, and he is the cause of all that is good. The beings of the second class are related to the second principle (or, king); and those of the third to the third.' The three categories into which Zoroaster and Plato divided the universe are: first that which is eternal, second that which is in time but perpetual, and third that which is mortal . . .[26]
>
> The philosophy of Plato was not original with him but was derived from Zoroaster via the Pythagoreans. For according to a tradition chiefly represented by Plutarch, Pythagoras studied Zoroastrianism during his sojourn in Asia among the magi, the successors of Zoroaster, and Zoroaster lived 5,000 years before the Trojan War . . . That Plato was a student of Zoroastrianism is demonstrated by the extant [Zoroastrian] oracles, which agree in every detail with the Platonic system.[27]

To Pletho's presentation of this religious philosophy with its long tradition and with its theory of the ancient origins of Platonism, Gennadius (Georges Scholarius) later raised the objection that nowhere had Pletho introduced the actual writings of his ancient authorities. 'You know of them only the little which other writers have reported', he insinuated.[28] Gennadius also inferred that Pletho, while a young man in Constantino-

[23] *Ibid.*, pp. 252–253.

[24] *Ibid.*, pp. 30–31, 254–255.

[25] Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 46 (369E); Bidez-Cumont, *Mages*, II, 70–79. This triadic division is not in the oracles of Pletho's recension but was probably derived from Plato as interpreted by Proclus (Anastos, *op. cit.*, pp. 293–295). Ficino also made use of this trinity (*Opera*, pp. 130, 1325).

[26] *Nomoi*, pp. 279–281; Bidez-Cumont, *Mages*, II, 253. The quotation from Plato is from the pseudonymous *Second Epistle*, 312E.

[27] In his reply to George Scholarius' criticism of Plato: *Nomoi*, p. 297; Bidez-Cumont, *Mages*, II, 259; J. P. Migne, *P. G.*, 160, 984A. The translation is that of Anastos, *op. cit.*, pp. 280–281.

[28] Migne, *P. G.*, 160, 639B; *Nomoi*, p. 423. This is in a letter to the exarchon Joseph which M. Jugie, 'La polémique de Georges Scholarios contre Plethon', *Byzantion* X (1935), 524, dates at the end of 1456 or in 1457. Nowhere in his writings does Pletho actually quote from the oracles.

ple, had learned about Zoroaster from the polytheistic Jew, Elisaeus.[29] Thus, it was probably to establish more firmly the authority of his most ancient source that Pletho made public in Florence his Greek *Summary of the Doctrines of Zoroaster and Plato*, together with an exposition of obscure passages.[30] Here in twelve concise aphorisms Pletho presented his own confession of faith in the guise of a résumé of ancient philosophies—thus, no doubt, seeking to escape censure. Neoplatonic in character and, as often in his works, based heavily on Proclus, his fourfold system of the gods, the universe, and man may be summarized as follows:[31]

I The Supreme God	Jupiter alone	
II Gods supra-celestial (Second class)	1 Olympian Gods	Neptune, Juno, etc.
	2 Tartarian Gods or Titans	Saturn, Venus, Pan, etc.
III Gods intra-celestial (Third class)	1 Celestial Gods properly speaking	Sun, Planets, Stars
	2 Terrestrial Gods	Demons or Genii
IV Beings intra-celestial (Non-divine)	1 Beings with reason	The human soul
	2 Beings without reason	Elements, Animals, Plants

In addition to editing a sixty-line hexameter version of the *Oracula Chaldaica* in Greek, Pletho also wrote a Greek commentary called the

[29] *Nomoi*, p. 423. On Elisaeus (Eliseus) see the *Jewish Encyclopedia* V, 136.

[30] *Nomoi*, pp. 262–269; Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Graeca* XIV, 137–144; J. P. Migne, *P. G.*, 160, 973–974; Jacob Brucker, *Historia critia philosophiae*, I (Leipzig, 1742), 185. Manuscripts are located in a number of places; e.g., *Parisin, gr.* 462, 1603 1739, 2376. The *Expositio* can be found in Greek and in Latin in the editions of Opsopoeus and Gallaeus; cf. Appendix B.

[31] *Nomoi*, pp. lix–lx.

Magical Oracles of the Magi of Zoroaster in which one finds the theological views of the Neoplatonists regarding the hierarchy of beings, the second demiurge, the various modes of creation, the destiny of the human soul, and the similarity of the views of Zoroaster and Plato.[32]

Foremost among those influenced by some of the ideas of Pletho was Marsilio Ficino (1433–99), the head of the Platonic Academy at Florence. Although Ficino did not subscribe to the pagan elements in the religious philosophy of Pletho, he did accept the belief in the long tradition which extended back to the ancient theologians and philosophers. His succession of *theologi veteres* began with Zoroaster and included Hermes Trismegistus (Mercurius), Orpheus, Aglaophemus, Pythagoras, and Plato.[33] He felt that he was God's instrument in furthering the *pia philosophia* of the Platonic doctrines and tradition, for it was 'by the will of the divine Providence . . . that a religious philosophy arose among the Persians under Zoroaster and likewise among the Egyptians under Trismegistus', to be nursed by Orpheus and Aglaophemus, developed later by Pythagoras, and perfected by the divine Plato.[34] From Zoroaster had come all the wisdom of the ancient theologians,[35] and this wisdom, Ficino felt, was contained in the *Oracula Chaldaica*.[36]

From the writings of the Neoplatonists, especially from those he translated and published, Ficino acquired a mass of doctrines which he tried to coordinate into a coherent system which would support Christianity and be in harmony with it. There was some precedent for associating the

[32] The recension of the oracles was not published until 1538; cf. Appendix B. They are readily available in J. P. Migne, *P. G.*, 122, 1116–1122, where they are placed under the name of Michael Psellus. A Latin translation of the commentary can be found in the editions of Opsopoeus and Gallaeus. Excerpts are given in *Nomoi*, pp. 274–281, and in Bidez-Cumont, *Mages*, II, 251–254. Manuscripts: *Vaticanus gr.* 1011; *Parisin. gr.* 2832 and *Suppl.* 66; *Marcianus* 519; *Monacensis* 419; *Neapolitanus* III, AA7; *Scorial.* II T I. The absence of the surname Pletho in the manuscripts leads some to believe that the work was one of the first which George Gemistus wrote; cf. Bidez-Cumont, *Mages*, I, 160; II, 252. Note that in the title the doctrines are not attributed to Zoroaster but to the 'Magi of Zoroaster'.

[33] In his *Theologia Platonica*, written in eighteen books between 1469 and 1474 (*Opera*, I, 156, 386).

[34] *Ibid.*, I, 871; II, 1537. In the preface to his translation of the *Corpus Hermeticum* (*Opera*, II, 1836), Ficino does not include Zoroaster in the series of ancient theologians. Here the lead is taken by Hermes Trismegistus, and Philolaus is included in the six. Prof. P. O. Kristeller suggests this may indicate that Ficino became acquainted with the oracles only after 1463.

[35] *Theologia Platonica*, IV, ii; *Opera*, I, 131.

[36] Ficino possessed a Greek manuscript copy of the oracles with the commentaries of Pletho and Psellus, *Cod. Riccard.* No. 76; cf. G. Vitelli, 'Indice de' Codici Greci Riccardiani, Magliabechiani e Marucelliani', *Studi italiani de filologia classica* II (1894), 523–524.

early theologians with the Hebrew-Christian tradition. In the third century, Porphyry had exposed as charlatans a Christian sect which belittled Plato and claimed Zoroaster as the authority for their system.[37] In the middle ages, Hugo de Saint Victor and Petrus Comestor had confused Zoroaster with Cham (Ham), the second son of Noah.[38] The followers of Zoroaster, the magi, gained a special position in the Hebrew-Christian tradition because of the revelation of the infant Christ to the three magi of the Epiphany story (Matthew 2, 1–12). Ficino, too, felt that there was a very close connection between the most ancient theology and that of the Platonists and Christianity:

> The primitive theology of the Gentiles in which Zoroaster, Mercury, Orpheus, Aglaophemus, and Pythagoras are at one is to be found entire in the books of our Plato. In his letters Plato prophesies that these mysteries can be made plain to mankind only after many centuries. And that was what happened. For it was first in the time of Philo and Numenius that the thought of the primitive theologians, embodied in Plato's writings, began to be understood. That is to say, it was directly after the preachings of the apostles and of the disciples of the apostles, and their writings. For the Platonists used the divine light of Christians for the interpretation of the divine Plato. This is the reason why Basil the Great and Augustine affirm that the Platonists plagiarized the mysteries of John the Evangelist. I myself have certainly found that the chief mystic doctrines of Numenius, Philo, Plotinus, Iamblichus, and Proclus were borrowed from John, from Paul, Hierotheus, and from Dionysius the Areopagite. All the magnificent things they said of the divine mind and the angels and other theological topics were plainly borrowed thence.[39]

In his desire to make the writings of Plato, the Neoplatonists, and other Greek writers in the Platonic tradition available in Latin, Ficino was apparently the first to make a translation of the Zoroastrian oracles, using the Greek version of Pletho. Ficino's translation is entitled *Magica (idest philosophica) dicta magorum ex Zoroastre*.[40] These oracles, in the

[37] *Plotini vita*, ed. F. Creuzer, in *Plotini opera omnia*, I (Oxford, 1835), lxvi (sec. xvi).

[38] J. P. Migne, *Patrologia latina*, 175, 49C; *ibid.*, 198, 1090A; both in Bidez-Cumont, *Mages*, II, 49. Cf. also in Ficino, *Opera*, I, 29, where the reference is to the commentary on *Genesis* by Didymus (fourth century). Cf. also Bk. III of the forgery of Annius of Viterbo (*ca.* 1432–1502) entitled *Berosi Babylonii antiquitates*. This spurious work first appeared in Annius' *Antiquitatum volumina XVII. cum commentariis* (Rome, 1498).

[39] *De Christiana religione*, XXII; *Opera*, I, 25. The translation is that of Paul Shorey, *Platonism, Ancient and Modern* (Berkeley, Calif., 1938), p. 124.

[40] Like the work of Pletho, the title does not attribute the oracles to Zoroaster but to his followers. This translation was not published until 1936. The MS. is located in Florence, *Biblioteca Laurenziana*, lat. Plut. XXXVI, cod. 35; cf. A. M. Bandini, *Catalogus codicum latinorum Biblio. Med. Laurentianae* (Florence, 1775), II, 240. Although the MS. is not signed, Bandini, for good reasons, assigns it to Ficino and the research of Bohdan Kieszkowski supports this. Cf. the latter's *Studi sul Platonismo del Rinascimento in Italia* (Florence, 1936), pp. 155–156. The translation, *ibid.*, pp. 159–161, begins: *Quere tu anime riuum, unde quoue*

Greek and Latin, are repeatedly used by Ficino to substantiate the premises of his own philosophy. This is especially so in his principal philosophical work, the *Theologia Platonica*.[41] Here the name of Zoroaster and the text of the oracles are cited, for example, to support his views regarding the divine origin of the soul and its immortality; the superiority of God and the angelic intellects to any kind of movement; the natural inclination and movement of the soul toward God; the principle of the mystical ascent to the Father; the nature of the angels; and his concept of the dominance of the soul in man.[42] The testimony of Zoroaster is also frequently cited in support of Christianity in Ficino's *De Christiana religione*[43] and in his commentary on St. Paul's letter to the Romans.[44]

It was natural that Pico della Mirandola, the influential young member of the Platonic Academy and one whose interests veered toward the mystic and esoteric, should accept the Zoroastrian oracles as authentic Oriental doctrines. Besides the Greek oracles edited by Pletho, Pico seems to have had also an Aramaic version of the oracles, for he wrote to Ficino from Fratta in 1486: 'I was forcibly taken off from other things and instigated to the Arabic and Chaldaic learning by certain books in both those languages, which came to my hands, not accidentally, but doubtless by the disposal of God, in favor of my studies. Hear the inscriptions, and you will believe it. The Chaldaic books (if they are books and not rather treasures) are the *Oracles* of Esra, Zoroaster, and Melchior, Magi; in which those things which are faulty and defective in the Greek, are read perfect and entire. There is also an exposition of the Chaldean Wise-men upon these Oracles, short and knotty, but full of mysteries. There is also a book of the doctrines of the Chaldean theology, and upon it a divine and copious discourse of the Persians, Greeks, and Chaldeans.'[45] Pico's acceptance of the Zoroastrian oracles can be seen in

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ordine, Corpori cum seruiueris, ad ordinem a quo defluxisti Rursus erigas, sacro cum sermone opus uniens. Professor Paul O. Kristeller has called to my attention the existence of a second manuscript: Biblioteca Vaticana, *Vat. Ottob. lat.* 2966.

41 The index to the Venice, 1525, edition lists twenty-five 'opinio Zoroastri' and seven 'opinio Mercurii', one being a combined expression.

42 *Opera*, I, 301, 88, 305, 236, 88, 303.

43 E.g., *Opera*, I, 50 (resurrection of the body).

44 E.g., *Opera*, I, 460 (justice of god, grace, and redemption).

45 Pico della Mirandola, *Opera* (Basel, 1572), I, 367; Fabricius, *B. G.*, I, 36, 10. Cf. also Kieszkowski, *op. cit.*, p. 124, where it is pointed out that probably only the text of the oracles was in Aramaic, the rest being in Greek. Pico succeeded in learning Aramaic; cf. his letter to Andreas Corneus of Urbino, 15 October 1486 (*Opera*, I, 377–378). After Pico's death, Ficino found these works, but they were illegible; cf. Fabricius, *B. G.*, I, 313.

his use of them in the *Conclusiones secundum opinionem Chaldaeorum theologorum*, and in the *Conclusiones numero* XV. *secundum propriam opinionem de intelligentia dictorum Zoroastris et expositorum eius Chaldaeorum*.[46] These were a part of the nine hundred theses he offered to defend in 1487. They also reveal a knowledge of the commentary on the oracles by Psellus.[47] The *Conclusiones* and his *Oratio de hominis dignitate*, however, make it appear that Pico had in his possession a text of the oracles more spacious than that we now know.[48] Pico, too, Christianized the oracles of Zoroaster, affirming that Jesus was revealed at various times as 'the Pallas of Orpheus, the Paternal Spirit of Zoroaster, the Son of God of Hermes Trismegistus, the Wisdom of Pythagoras, the Intelligible Sphere of Parmenides, the Word of Plato'.[49] Abraham had brought the Chaldaic doctrines to the Hebrews and Egyptians from whence they were transmitted to the Greeks.[50]

In Pico's syncretism, philosophers of all times and all nations shared some elements of truth, along with errors, in their writings, and in the *Oratio de hominis dignitate*, which Pico wrote in 1486 as an introduction to his defense of the nine hundred theses, the notion of the unity of truth is especially prominent. Zoroaster and the Chaldean oracles, of course, play a role here, as well as Cabalistic, Arabian, Platonic, and Christian works. In the *Oratio*, Pico ascribes to Zoroaster the origin of the saying 'Know thyself', and explains the oracle of Zoroaster 'Refresh ye your wings in the waters of life', asking his audience to turn their attention 'to the diligent consideration of what these doctrines of Zoroaster mean'.[51] His numerous theses he offers in debate, for in 'the attainment of the knowledge of truth . . . nothing is better than to attend as far as possible to the exercise of debate'.[52] Pico maintains that he has pledged himself to the doctrines of no one man, but has 'ranged through all the masters of phi-

[46] *Opera*, I, 79–80, 103–104.

[47] Kieszkowski, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

[48] *Ibid.*; cf. also Pico, *Opera*, I, 330.

[49] Zervos, *op. cit.*, p. 247; Pico, *Apologia*. Cf. also *Disputatio habita inter Hieronymus Savonarolam et Picum Mirandulanum, de philosophia veterum cum Christiana Academia. Et quid item vetustissimi de ipso Deo senserint, idest Moses, Mercurius, Zoroastres et Pythagoras*, in Petrus Crinitus, *De honesta disciplina* (Lyons, 1554), III, 2, and in Pico della Mirandola, *De hominis dignitate, Heptaplus, De ente et uno*, ed. Eugenio Garin (Florence, 1942), pp. 79–81.

[50] In the *Conclusiones* and the *Apologia*; cf. Kieszkowski, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

[51] *Opera*, I, 320, 321. The translations are those of E. L. Forbes, *De hominis dignitate* (Lexington, Kentucky, 1953). The oracle here attributed to Zoroaster is not in the original hexameters of Pletho.

[52] *Opera*, I, 323.

losophy, investigated all books, and come to know all schools'.[53] For, he adds, he wished 'to bring before the public the opinions not of a single school alone . . . but rather of every school, to the end that that light of truth Plato mentions in his *Epistles* through this comparison of several sects and this discussion of manifold philosophies might dawn more brightly on our minds, like the sun rising from the deep. What were the gain if only the philosophy of the Latins were investigated . . . if the Greek and Arabian philosophers were left out—since all wisdom has flowed from the East to the Greeks and from the Greeks to us?'[54]

Zoroaster and the Chaldean oracles also support Pico's philosophical scheme of God and the world as expressed in his *Commento alla canzone d'amore*, the only important work Pico wrote in the vernacular. This commentary, composed in 1486, appeared with the *Canzone dell'amor celeste et divino* of Girolamo Benivieni. In the first book, for example, where Pico discusses the 'first created mind' which is a perfect creature of incorporeal and intellectual nature produced by God from eternity, he affirms that 'This first created mind is called by Plato, as also by the ancient philosophers, Mercurius Trismegistus and Zoroaster, now Son of God, now Mind, now Wisdom, now Divine Reason; which some again interpret, Word. But we must take diligent heed not to believe that this is He who by our theologians is called the Son of God.'[55] Elsewhere in the same work, other references are made to Zoroaster, and the oracle 'Seek, seek Paradise' is quoted.[56]

Many other learned Italians accepted Ficino's and Pico's association of Zoroaster with the Christian tradition. Pietro Pomponazzi (1462–1524), the Aristotelian philosopher, cites Zoroaster in support of the resurrection in his *De naturalium effectuum causis sive de incantationibus*.[57] The exegete Augustinus Steuchus (1496–1549), in attempting to deduce all philosophy and religion from the Zoroastrian dogmas and to achieve a concordance of these with expressions in the Gospels, drew heavily on the Zoroastrian oracles. In his *De perenni philosophia* he names Zoroaster and Hermes Trismegistus as the most ancient theologians whose views were followed by the Greeks.[58] Following Pletho, Steuchus routes the Zoro-

[53] *Opera*, I, 324.

[54] *Opera*, I, 325.

[55] *Opere di Girolamo Beniuieni* (Florence, 1519), fol. 4; *A Platonick Discourse upon Love by Pico della Mirandola*, ed. E. G. Gardner (*Humanist's Library* VII, Boston, 1914), 6.

[56] *Opere*, fol. 21.

[57] Chapter X; Basel, 1556, p. 214.

[58] Augustinus Steuchus, *Opera* (Paris, 1578), III, *De perenni philosophia*, 136.

astrian philosophy to the Greeks through Pythagoras.[59] Ludovicus Caelius Rhodiginus (Ricchieri; *ca.* 1460–*ca.* 1525), professor of Greek and Latin at Milan, called Zoroaster *ille scientissimus et veterum theologorum fons*. In his *Lectionum antiquarum libri XXX*, he gives numerous Zoroastrian oracles in Greek and Latin.[60] This huge collection of miscellanea of antiquity and literature was very widely read and helped make familiar to many the philosophical doctrines of the Florentine Academy.[61]

Even in the late sixteenth century, Italian scholars continued to include Zoroaster in their list of authorities. Giordano Bruno (d. 1600), that fearless but exasperating protagonist of an infinite universe, constantly appealed to the ancient theologians and philosophers. He considered Egypt to be the original home of wisdom, but Persia with the magi under Zoroaster was second.[62] More detailed than Bruno in his appeal to Zoroaster and his oracles was Francesco Patrizi (Franciscus Patritius, 1529–97). By drawing additional oracles from many ancient authors like Proclus, Synesius, Olympiodorus, Damascius, and others, Patrizi increased the number of oracles ascribed to Zoroaster to three hundred and twenty-four. These he placed under certain general heads: Monad, Dyad, Triad; Father, Mind; Mind, Intelligibles, Intellectuals; Jynges, Ideas, Principles; Hecate, Synoches, Teletarchs; Soul, Nature; the World; Heaven; Time; Soul, Body, Man; Demons, Rites.[63]

In his own philosophy, Patrizi shows his acceptance of the Zoroastrian oracles and the tradition of ancient wise men. In the essay preceding his

[59] *Ibid.*, III, 24. Book I especially shows the influence of the Zoroastrian oracles.

[60] *Lectionum antiquarum libri* (Frankfort, 1599), cols. 11, 75, 95, 418, 423, 646, 747, 785, 849, 850, 1069.

[61] The work was first printed in sixteen books at Venice in 1516 and reprinted many times. In 1550 his nephew got out fourteen more books after Rhodiginus' death. Rabelais made much use of the *Lectionum antiquarum libri*; cf. W. F. Smith, *Rabelais in his Writings* (Cambridge, 1918), pp. 108, 150, 165.

[62] G. Bruno, *Opera latine conscripta*, ed. F. Fiorentino and others, I, i (Naples, 1879), 16, 193. Cf. also I, ii (Florence, 1879), 334; II, ii (Florence, 1890), 185, 191; III (Florence, 1891), 397, 485, 487 (oracle).

[63] Dedicated to Pope Gregory XIV with a secondary dedication to Cardinal Enrico Gaetani, the oracles appeared in his *Nova de universis philosophia* (Ferrara, 1591; Venice, 1593) and in his *Magia philosophica* (Hamburg, 1593), with later editions in London, 1611 and 1628. Cf. Appendix B. Cf. also Fabricius, *G. B.*, I, 312–313; A. Jahn, 'Glossarium sive vocabularium ad Oracula Chaldaica a Clerico post Patricium et Stanleium sub falso nomine Oracularum Zoroastris mendose edita, nunc vero fontium ope correcta', *Revue de Philologie de Littérature et d'Histoire anciennes*, XXIII (1899), 193–225; *idem*, 'Specimen commentarii critici et exegetici ex fontibus hausti ad Oracula Chaldaica', *ibid.*, XXIV (1900), 169–192. On Patrizi and his philosophy see Benjamin Brickman, *An Introduction to Francisco Patrizi's Nova de Universis Philosophia* (New York, 1941).

recension of the oracles, he condemns Jan Van Gorp (1518–72) for denying the existence of Zoroaster and Hermes Trismegistus, Patrizi's two leading authorities. He also regrets that Pico's copy of the oracles and his commentary have been lost. In the *Panurgia*, a part of his *Nova de universis philosophia*, Patrizi cites Zoroaster, among others, to support his identification of the godhead with eternal light.[64] The section of this work called *Panarchia* is replete with references to Zoroaster and his oracles. It is not Plato or Socrates but the ancient Persian prophet, whom he cites as contemporary with Abraham, that is given credit as one of the originators of the theory of ideas; 'Certainly the entire dogma goes back to the Chaldeans and Zoroaster'.[65] Zoroaster is his authority for his view of the metaphysical origin of knowledge, which Patrizi locates in the *Paternum profundum*, a trinity (One, First Mind, Second Mind), while the oracles are his source for the view that mind cannot exist without an intelligible object, nor an intelligible object without a mind.[66] The Trinity concept also receives further support from the oracles and the writings of other ancient theologians.[67] Zoroaster, Hermes, and the Scriptures are quoted in favor of his construction of the corporeal world, the supernal fire and light, and the astronomers of his century are of less value than Plato and the Zoroastrian oracles as authorities for the position of the sun in the universe.[68]

Patrizi's anti-Aristotelian stand is evident in his choice of such authorities as Zoroaster, Hermes, and the Platonists, for they were chosen 'so that all people henceforth engaged in the study of philosophy may know that human minds can philosophize and search out the truth of things in a different way and more deeply than in the Peripatetic way, as the whole crowd of philosophers now does'.[69] Patrizi wished his own philosophy to be used as an instrument of the Counter-Reformation to win back those in Germany who had turned away from the Roman Catholic faith.[70] He found the Christian element strong in the oracles, for 'There are in these oracles of Zoroaster, God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit—not only clear to those who know, but magnificent praises. . . . As when they celebrate Him as maker of all things, creator of the world.

64 *Nova de universis philosophia* (Venice, 1593), *Panurgia*, VII, fols. 16–19.
65 *Ibid.*, *Panarchia*, IX, fol. 19; XII, fol. 25.
66 *Ibid.*, *Panarchia*, XIX, fols. 42–47.
67 *Ibid.*, *Panarchia*, IX, fol. 18.
68 *Ibid.*, *Pancosmia*, fols. 75, 76, 109.
69 *Ibid.*, *Panarchia*, IX, fol. 20.
70 *Ibid.*, in the dedicatory letter to Pope Gregory XIV.

They acknowledge the Angels; they foretell Paradise; they expressly teach the immortality of the Souls. Concerning Truth, Faith, Hope, Love, or Charity, they have brief but outstanding teachings. By which, as if by steps, we are able to be brought back [to God].'[71]

Zoroaster even made his appearance in Italian Renaissance art. Giusto da Padova (Giusto di Giovanni de Menabuoi; d. *ca.* 1397) painted a picture of Zoroaster on the right wall of the Chapel of the Hermits (Cappella degli Eremitani) founded in 1370 in Padua. Here are depicted Philosophy (Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Seneca, and Livy), Rhetoric (Cicero), Music (Tubalcain), and Dialectic (Zoroaster). The last (here called Cereastes) is shown in a rose-colored hood, with yellow undergarments covered by a blue and red mantle. Zoroaster, seated at the feet of 'Dyaletica' who holds a serpent in each hand, is writing unintelligible characters on a page—undoubtedly intended for oriental script. Beneath, by way of explanation, is an inscription in six hexameters.[72] The Florentine painter Maso Finiguerra (1426) depicted Zoroaster among the personages of ancient history included in his series of ninety-nine drawings. Here (no. 14), Zoroaster (Xoroastes), included in one drawing with Inachus, Prometheus, and Pharaoh, is shown in the medieval tradition as a sorcerer standing in the middle of the magic circle invoking demons. Two demons are flying to him with books while a third extends to him a scroll. On the ground outside the circle are many other books, portraying, no doubt, his supposed vast literary activity.[73]

Early in the sixteenth century, Raphael painted for Julius II his famous 'School of Athens' in the *Stanza della Segnatura* at Rome. Here Zoroaster is depicted in the lower group to the right, holding a globe and standing next to Ptolemy, the geographer, and Archimedes.[74] Zoroaster may be the unidentified, turbaned figure who appears with Hermes Trismegis-

[71] *Ibid.*, fol. 5a.

[72] Julius von Schlosser, 'Giusto's Fresken in Padua und die Vorläufer der Stanza della Segnatura', *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, XVII (1896), 13–100; Adolfo Venturi, 'Il libro di Giusto per la Cappella degli Eremitani in Padova', *Le gallerie italiane*, IV (1899), 345–376; *idem*, 'Il libro dei disegni di Giusto', *ibid.*, V (1902), 391 ff. Miniatures of the frescos are preserved in the Ambraser Codex, 14th century, in the Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum, Sammlung der Kunstindustriellen Gegenstände, Saal XXIII, Vitrine I, No. 10, and in Florence, Magliabecchiana, C I. VII, cod. 17. In 1466 Hartmann Schedel wrote a description of the frescos (Munich, Cod. lat., 418). Cf. also *La Canzone delle virtu e delle scienze di Bartolomeo di Bartoli da Bologna*, ed. Léon Dorez (Bergamo, 1904), pp. 38, 82–83, for a miniature of Zoroaster seated at the feet of Dialectic.

[73] The original drawings are in the British Museum and are reproduced in Sidney Colvin, *A Florentine Picture Gallery* (London, 1898).

[74] E. Muntz, *Raphael* (London, 1888), pp. 263–270.

tus in the pavement mosaics in the cathedral of Siena.[75] Outside of Italy, a small round picture of Zoroaster was included in the *Promptuaire des medalles des plus renommees personnes* of Guillaume Roville,[76] and F. A. Yates feels that Zoroaster may be included among the heroes, priests, and poets who surround the figure of naked truth in the *Civitas veri sive morum* (1609) of Bartholomeo Delbene.[77]

From Florence, the doctrines of the Platonic Academy spread northward beyond the Alps by word of mouth and the printed page. In Paris, which Pico had visited, they found early acceptance at the university where Guillaume Fichet, the rector of the Sorbonne, began the struggle to introduce the new Platonic doctrines into that scholastic stronghold.[78] By September 1496 the energetic scholar Robert Gaguin was able to write to Ficino that the wisdom which the Florentine had shown was widely known in the Parisian Academy and that Ficino's name was loved and honored by old scholars and young students alike.[79] The early acceptance of the view of Ficino and Pico that Zoroaster was the founder of a religious philosophy that had continued through Plato and supported Christianity can be seen, for example, in the writings of Symphorien Champier (1472–1539). This physician of the Duke of Lorraine ranks foremost among those in France who spread the Platonic tradition. His use of Zoroaster and the Zoroastrian oracles can be seen in his *De quadruplici vita*, printed in Lyons in 1507. Here he follows almost word for word some of Ficino's statements, and cites a Zoroastrian oracle in his explanation of the angels as 'unmoved movers' who are of a higher order than the souls.[80]

Michael Servetus (1511–53), the Spanish theologian and physician, was influenced by the Neoplatonism popularized in France by Champier. While at Vienne, near Lyons, he wrote his controversial work *Chris-*

[75] This Hermes group is dated 1488 and was supposedly done by Giovanni di Maestro Stefano (R. H. H. Cust, *The Pavement Masters of Sienna*, London, 1901, p. 20; W. Scott, *Hermetica*, I, Oxford, 1924, frontispiece and p. 32).

[76] Lyons, 1533, p. 12; the medal is only 1⅜ inches in diameter. A Latin edition appeared the same year, also at Lyons.

[77] Frances A. Yates, *The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1947), p. 146, plate IIa.

[78] Walter Mönch, *Die italienische Platon-renaissance und ihre Bedeutung für Frankreichs Literatur- und Geistesgeschichte* (1450–1550) (*Romanische Studien* XL, Berlin, 1936), p. 184.

[79] Robert Gaguin, *Epistole et orationes*, ed. by Louis Thuasne (Paris, 1903), II, 20.

[80] Symphorien Champier, *De quadruplici vita* (Lyons, 1507), Bk. II, vi and xi; Bk. IV, viii and xv. Cf. also his collection of miscellaneous works whose title begins *Index librorum in hoc volumine contentorum* (Lyons, 1506).

tianismi restitutio.[81] In this anonymous work, the real cause of his persecution and death, Servetus cites the usual Neoplatonic authorities, including Zoroaster and his oracles. In the fourth book, dealing with 'The names of God, and of His essence having all forms in it; and of the principles of all beings', he quotes Samuel Bar Kalonimos on pantheism and continues, 'and in this view, all the ancient philosophers concur . . . Out of Pythagoras, Anaxagoras, and other ancient philosophers, who were taught by Zoroaster and Trismegistus, Plato drew the views expressed in his *Parmenides*, *Kratylus*, and *Phaedo*, that there is an ultimate One, in which One all are contained, and have being'.[82]

Servetus, in the Neoplatonic tradition, sees God as the creator and dispenser of light, which is the bond between the corporeal and the spiritual world and the origin of forms, 'as Zoroaster had taught in the Oracles of wisdom, which are called *magika logia*'.[83] God gives the essential being to every existing thing, for 'From the beginning there was in God the image or representation of all things, which in wisdom itself, in God's Word itself, truly shines forth as an archetype of the world. For God saw all in Himself, in His light, in so far as He possesses the idea or form of all things, as if they were visible in a mirror. That is the old teaching, accepted since the beginning of the world, about the wisdom of God, as is taught in the Holy Scriptures and as they were transmitted to the Greeks from the older Chaldeans and Egyptians. Of the sacred writers, Job, Moses, David, Solomon, and others have taught this. The same thing was the teaching of Zoroaster and Trismegistus, from whom, especially the latter, the Greeks from Orpheus to Plato have learned everything.'[84]

The Neoplatonism and Christianity which the French writer and moralist Du Vair (1556–1610) exhibits in his *Constance et consolation es calamitez publiques* receives support from the Zoroastrian oracles,[85] while the French Protestant writer Du Plessis-Mornay (1549–1623) finds much in Zoroaster to substantiate the Christian religion. When writing that 'the men of old times agreed with us concerning man's corruption

[81] Roland H. Bainton, *Hunted Heretic, The Life and Death of Michael Servetus* (Boston, 1953), chaps. 7 and 8.

[82] Michael Servetus, *Christianismi restitutio* (Lyons, 1553), p. 130.

[83] *Ibid.*, p. 131.

[84] *Ibid.*, p. 137.

[85] For example, in Bk. III (ed. Rouen, 1642, p. 844). Cf. also Henri Busson, *Les sources et le développment du rationalisme dans la littérature française de la Renaissance* (Paris, 1922), p. 493.

and the cause thereof', he quotes the *Poemander* of Hermes Trismegistus, and adds, 'if we mount up yet higher to Zoroaster, who (as it is written of him) was Noah's grandchild, we shall find that in his Oracles he bewaileth the race of mankinde, in these words: Alas, alas, the Earth mourneth even unto Children! Which words cannot be interpreted than of original sin.'[86] When dealing with the immortality of souls, Du Plessis-Mornay writes: 'Of Zoroaster who is yet of more antiquity than Hermes, we have nothing but fragments. Nevertheless, many report this article to be one of his, that men's souls are immortal, and that one day there shall be a general rising again of their bodies, and the answers of the wise men of Chaldie (who were the heirs of his Doctrine) do answer sufficiently for him.'[87] A Zoroastrian oracle is cited in support of the Trinity, with the interesting observation that 'As touching Zoroaster and Trismegistus, the one was a Hebrew [*sic*], the other an Egyptian'.[88] As far as God being the 'utmost end and sovereign good, felicity and welfare of man', Zoroaster says 'that we must travel with all our power toward the brightness of the father, who is the giver of our soul. Also he hath told us that we be fallen away from this brightness of light into thick darkness, and have lost God's favour by going about to set ourselves free from his service.'[89]

With Platonism playing so prominent a role in French thought and literature,[90] it was natural that the first printed editions of the Zoroastrian oracles, in Greek and in translation, should be in that country. In 1538 Joannes Lodoicus Tiletanus published in Paris the *editio princeps* of the Greek oracles, using the sixty hexameters of the version of Pletho.[91] In the following year, a Latin translation was made by Jacobus Marthanus Pictaviensis, the younger brother of Charles Sainte-Marthe, who published it in Paris, without the Greek version, under the title *Magica Zoro-*

[86] Du Plessis-Mornay, *A Worke concerning the Trunesse of the Christian Religion*, translated by Philip Sidney and Arthur Golding (London, 1604), p. 284. The original French edition appeared in 1581.

[87] *Ibid.*, p. 277.

[88] *Ibid.*, p. 70.

[89] *Ibid.*, p. 315.

[90] Cf. Mönch, *op. cit.*; and Abel Lefranc, 'Le Platonisme et la littérature en France à l'époque de la Renaissance', in his *Grand écrivains français de la Renaissance* (Paris, 1914), pp. 63–137.

[91] Reprinted in J. P. Migne, *P. G.*, 122, cols. 115–1122, where the oracles are placed under the name of Michael Psellus. Thomas Stanley in his *History of Philosophy* (London, 1701), p. 802, dates the first publication at 1563. This error is continued by S. Aude, *The Chaldean Oracles of Zoroaster* (London, 1895), p. 6, and by A. V. W. Jackson, *op. cit.*, p. 259.

astri oracula.[92] With the text he also published his Latin translation of the Greek commentary of Pletho on the oracles. In 1541 the Greek text was again published at Paris,[93] and in 1550, at Lyons, Joannes Brixius brought out his own Latin translation of the oracles.[94] The first edition of the oracles in a vernacular language, French, was brought out in Paris in 1556 by François Habert.[95]

In 1589 Joannes Opsopoeus published in Paris his own Latin translation of the oracles along with the Greek version of Pletho. Accompanying the oracles was Pletho's commentary on the obscure passages of the oracles, in Greek and in a Latin translation; Psellus' commentary on the oracles in Greek and Latin; Marthanus' Latin version of the oracles; and Marthanus' Latin translation (1539) of the commentary of Pletho.[96]

At the end of the sixteenth century, in 1595, the younger Federicus Morellus, the famous printer for the king of France, printed at Paris the Greek version and two years later brought out his own Latin translation.[97]

Although Florentine Platonism made a deep impression on the German humanists, the early advent of the Reformation with its Biblicism and its emphasis on a unique revelation of truth seems to have lessened the enthusiasm for a universal religion with a long tradition of ancient theologians. Johann Reuchlin (1455–1522) stressed the Pythagorean and Cabalistic element in his philosophy but he held that Pythagoras had drawn his philosophy from older teachers including the Persian magi.[98] Henry Cornelius Agrippa of Nettesheim (1486–1535), with his devotion to the occult, is more in the Florentine tradition with repeated references to the succession of ancient theologians and to the Zoroastrian oracles.[99] In the Low Countries Cornelius Gemma (1535–79), professor of medicine at Louvain, sought a universal philosophy from that of Plato and Zoroaster, which was 'utterly confused and hitherto undigested'.[100] In Wittenberg, where he taught medicine, Johann Jessenius (Jes-

[92] This first published Latin translation was often reprinted; cf. Appendix B.

[93] *Hesiodi opera et dies et Zoroastri magica oracula graeca* (Paris, 1541).

[94] *Utilis docti Hesiodi Ascraei liber, opera et dies . . . cui operi addita sunt quaedam sapientiae dogmata Zoroastris logia ab eodem translata* (Lyons, 1550).

[95] F. Habert, *Les divins oracles de Zoroastres, auec un commentaire moral sur ledit Zoroastre, en poésie françoise et latine* (Paris, 1556).

[96] This is in the second part of his *Sibyllina oracula* (Paris, 1589, 1599, 1607).

[97] *Magorum, qui a Zoroastre prodiere, oracula, gracce* (Paris, 1595) and *Zoroastris, seu magorum qui a Zoroastre prodierunt, oracula heroica* (Paris, 1597).

[98] J. Reuchlin, *De arte cabalistica libri tres* (Hanau, 1517), Bk. II, fol. xliii.

[99] H. C. Agrippa, *Opera omnia* (Lyons, 1600), pp. 3, 260, 267, 271, 358, 359, 370, 374, 392.

[100] C. Gemma, *De arte cyclogomica* (Antwerp, 1569), pp. 51, 100, 155.

sensky) published in 1593 a book entitled *Zoroaster: A New Brief and True Philosophy of the Universe.*[101]

In seventeenth-century England, the Cambridge Platonists tried to reconstruct theology on the basis of reason and to show the unity of religion and philosophy. The Platonic or Neoplatonic doctrines of the Renaissance, with its long tradition of theologians giving evidence of a multiple revelation, was especially attractive. Henry More accepted the Zoroastrian oracles as valid,[102] as did Ralph Cudworth.[103]

Such was the respect for the Florentine Platonists that few denied the validity of the Zoroastrian oracles for a long time. The Italian historian Matteo Palmieri (1405–75) accepted the Sybils and Hermes Trismegistus as inspired teachers equal to Moses and the Hebrew prophets, but condemned Zoroaster to Hell as a magician.[104] Theodore Beza, the Calvinistic theologian and scholar, was among the first to condemn the oracles as spurious, the work of some pseudo-Christian Greek.[105] In the seventeenth century opinion became divided. Some scholars, such as Thomas Stanley, Joannes Clericus, and Johann Albrecht Fabricius, accepted the oracles as truly being the work of the Persian Zoroaster, but others, like Petrus Lambeccius, Theophilus Spizelius, Johann Heinrich Ursinus, and Thomas Burnet, correctly ascribed them to Greek Platonists in the period after Christ.[106] Thomas Hyde (1636–1703), the English orientalist, considered the oracles as suppositious and hoped that these 'pseudoracula pessime conflicta carmine Graeco' might perish like others of their kind.[107] In the eighteenth century scholars like Johannes Franciscus Buddaeus, Isaac Beausorbe, and Johann Lorenz Mosheimius condemned the oracles as being counterfeit.[108]

The Zoroastrian oracles are, thus, an important part of the syncretism

[101] J. Jessenius, *Zoroaster. Nova brevis veraque de universo philosophia* (Wittenberg, 1593); cf. Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, VI (New York, 1941), 461.

[102] Henry More, *The Immortality of the Soul*, Bk. II, 12, 10; *A Collection of Several Philosophical Writings of Dr. Henry More* (London, 1712), p. 115. Cf. also Ernst Cassirer, *Die Platonische Renaissance in England* (Leipzig, 1932), p. 6.

[103] R. Cudworth, *The True Intellectual System of the Universe*, ed. Thomas Birch, II (London, 1820), chap. IV, sec. XVI, 55–73 especially.

[104] In his *Città di vita*, II, 32, 17 (Nesca A. Robb, *Neoplatonism of the Italian Renaissance*, London, 1935, pp. 53, 148).

[105] Thomas Stanley, *The History of Philosophy*, 1701 ed., part XIX, p. 39.

[106] J. Brucker, *op. cit.*, I, 155.

[107] Thomas Hyde, *Historia religionis veterum Persarum, eorumque Magorum* (Oxford, 1700), preface.

[108] J. Brucker, *op. cit.*, I, 157.

which characterized much of Renaissance thought. The humanists and philosophers, inclined toward a monistic view of the universe, felt that a divine presence could be discovered in nature and in man. Thus revealed religion and philosophy, the rational speculations of man, were identical, 'for philosophy consists in the study of truth and wisdom, and God alone is truth and wisdom, so that philosophy is but religion and true religion is genuine philosophy'.[109] In attempting to make the single core of truth manifest, the humanists sought in the recorded speculations of men of all nations and times the truth which would confirm the primary Christian revelation. 'Religion, indeed, is common to all men, but its pure form is that revealed through Christ and the teaching of Christ is sufficient to a man in all circumstances.'[110] The more ancient the dogmas were, the better was the confirmation of a continuous revelation and thus a true universal religion. The humanists of the Renaissance, in attributing a hoary antiquity to the Zoroastrian oracles, felt they had found a substantial and authoritative verification of Christian doctrine.

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[109] Ficino, *Opera*, I, 854.
[110] *Ibid.*

APPENDIX A

THE CHALDEAN ORACLES*

1. Explore the river of the soul, whence, or in what order, having become a servant to body, you may again rise to the order from which you descended, joining works to sacred reason.
2. Stoop not down, for a precipice lies below the earth, drawing through the ladder which has seven steps, beneath which is the throne of dire necessity.
3. For your vessel the beasts of the earth shall inhabit.
4. Enlarge not your destiny.
5. For nothing imperfect proceeds from the Paternal Principle. But the Paternal Mind receives not her Will until she go out of oblivion, and pronounces the Word, assuming the memory of the pure paternal symbol.
6. It behooves you to hasten to the light, and to the rays of the Father; from whence there was sent to you a soul endued with much mind.
7. These the earth bewails, even to their own children.
8. The ungirders of the soul, which give her breathing, are easy to be loosened.
9. In the side of the left bed there is a fountain of virtue; which remains entire within; not casting off her virginity.
10. The soul of man will, in a manner, clasp God to herself. Having nothing mortal, she is wholly inebriated from God; for she glories in the harmony, under which the mortal body exists.
11. The soul, being a bright light by the power of the Father, remains immortal, and is the mistress of life, and fills up many of the recesses of the world.
12. Seek paradise.
13. Defile not the spirit nor deepen a superficies.
14. There is room for the Image also in the eversplendid place.
15. Leave not the dross of matter on a precipice.
16. Carry her not forth, lest going forth, she retains something.
17. If you extend the fiery mind to the works of piety, you shall preserve the flexible body.
18. Out of the cavities of the earth spring terrestrial dogs, which show no true sign to mortal man.
19. Nature persuades us that demons are pure; the blossoms, even of ill matter, are useful and good.
20. The furries are constrainers of men.
21. Let the immortal depth of your soul lead you; but earnestly extend your eyes upward.
22. O man, of a daring nature, thou subtle production.
23. If you invoke me often, you shall see absolutely that which is spoken: for there neither appears the celestial concave bulk nor do the stars shine: the light of the moon is hidden, the earth stands not still, but all things appear in thunders.
24. Invoke not the self-conspicuous image of nature.
25. Every way to the unfashioned soul stretch out the reins of fire.
26. When you see a secret fire, without form, shining flashingly through the depth of the world, hear the voice of fire.
27. The paternal mind has sowed symbols in the souls.

* English translations of the Oracles may be found in *The Phoenix* (New York, 1835), by J. P. Cory; in the *Classical Journal* XVI (1817) and XVII (1818), by Thomas Taylor; and in Thomas Stanley, *The History of Philosophy* (London, 1701). The English translation given here follows the Greek of Pletho's recension.

28. Learn the intelligible, for it subsists beyond the mind.
29. There is a certain intelligible which it behooves you to comprehend with the flower of the mind.
30. For the father perfected all things and delivered them over to the second mind, whom all the nations of men call the first.
31. Intelligible jynges themselves understand from the father; by ineffable counsels being moved so as to understand.
32. Oh, how the world has intellectual guides inflexible.
33. The father has hastily withdrawn himself; but he has not shut up his own fire in his intellectual power.
34. The father hurls forth not fear but infuses persuasion.

APPENDIX B

EDITIONS OF THE ZOROASTRIAN ORACLES PRINTED BEFORE 1750*

Greek Editions

1 *Pletho's recension*

1538, Paris (Joannes Lodoicus Tiletanus).
1541, Paris, with Hesiod.
1589, Paris, in J. Opsopoeus, *Sibyllina oracula.*
1595, Paris (Federicus Morellus).
1599, Paris, in Opsopoeus.
1607, Paris, in Opsopoeus.
1659, Hamburg, in Petrus Lambeccius, *Prodromus historiae literariae.*
1689, Amsterdam, in Servatius Gallaeus, *Sibylina oracula.*
1710, Leipzig, in Lambeccius.
1722, London, in M. Maittaire, *Miscellanea Graecorum.*

2 *Patrizi's recension*

1591, Ferrara, in F. Patrizi, *Nova de universis philosophia.*
1593, Venice, in Patrizi.
1611, London, in Patrizi; appendix only, with Hermes Trismegistus.
1628, London, in Patrizi; appendix only, with Hermes Trismegistus.
1659, Hamburg, in Lambeccius.
1661, London, in Thomas Stanley, *Chaldaik Oracles of Zoroaster.*
1687, London, in Thomas Stanley, *The History of Philosophy.*
1690, Amsterdam, in Thomas Stanley, *Historia philosophiae orientalis.*†
1698, Amsterdam, in J. Clericus, *Opera philosophica.*†
1700, Amsterdam, in Stanley, *Historia philosophiae orientalis.*†
1701, London, in Stanley, *The History of Philosophy.*
1704, Amsterdam, in Clericus.†
1710, Amsterdam, in Clericus.†

* This list is an abbreviation of an extensive bibliographical study prepared for the project known as Medieval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries (Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum).
† As modified by J. Clericus.

1710, Leipzig, in J. Clericus, *Logica.*†
1710, Leipzig, in Lambeccius.
1711, Leipzig, in Stanley, *Historia philosophiae.*†
1722, Amsterdam, in Clericus, *Opera philosophica.*†
1726, Nordhausen, in Clericus, *Opera philosophica.*†
1731, Venice, in Stanley, *Historia philosophiae.*†
1743, London, in Stanley, *The History of Philosophy.*

Latin Translations

1 *By Jacobus Marthanus Pictaviensis*

1539, Paris (Joannes Lodoicus Tiletanus).
1589, Paris, in Opsopoeus.
1599, Paris, in Opsopoeus.
1607, Paris, in Opsopoeus.
1659, Hamburg, in Lambeccius.
1689, Amsterdam, in Gallaeus.
1710, Leipzig, in Lambeccius.

2 *By Joannes Brixius*

1550, Lyons (Theobaldus Paganus), with Hesiod.

3 *By Francesco Patrizi*

1591, Ferrara, in his *Nova de universis philosophia.*
1593, Venice, in his *Nova . . . philosophia.*
1593, Hamburg, in his *Magia philosophia.*
1611, London, in his *Nova . . . philosophia.*
1611, Frankfort, in Caesar Longinus, *Trinum magicum.*
1614, Frankfort, in Longinus.
1616, Frankfort, in Longinus.
1628, London, in Patrizi, *Nova . . . philosophia.*
1630, Frankfort, in Longinus.
1659, Hamburg, in Lambeccius.
1661, London, in Stanley, *Chaldaik Oracles of Zoroaster.*
1663, Frankfort, in Longinus.
1673, Frankfort, in Longinus.
1687, London, in Stanley, *The History of Philosophy.*
1690, Amsterdam, in Stanley, *Historia philosophiae orientalis.*†
1698, Amsterdam, in Clericus, *Opera philosophica.*†
1700, Amsterdam, in Stanley, *Historia philosophiae orientalis.*†
1701, London, in Stanley, *The History of Philosophy.*
1704, Amsterdam, in Clericus, *Opera philosophica.*†
1710, Amsterdam, in Clericus, *Opera philosophica.*†
1710, Leipzig, in Clericus, *Logica.*†
1710, Leipzig, in Lambeccius.
1711, Leipzig, in Stanley, *Historia philosophiae.*†
1722, Amsterdam, in Clericus, *Opera philosophica.*†
1726, Nordhausen, in Clericus, *Opera philosophica.*†
1731, Venice, in Stanley, *Historia philosophiae.*†
1743, London, in Stanley, *The History of Philosophy.*†

4 By Federicus Morellus

1597, Paris (Federicus Morellus).
1722, London, in Maittaire.

5 By Joannes Opsopoeus

1589, Paris, in Opsopoeus, *Sibyllina oracula.*
1599, Paris, in Opsopoeus, *Sibyllina oracula.*
1607, Paris, in Opsopoeus, *Sibyllina oracula.*
1659, Hamburg, in Lambeccius.
1689, Amsterdam, in Gallaeus.
1710, Leipzig, in Lambeccius.

6 By Otto Heurnius

1600, Leyden, in his *Barbaricae philosophiae antiquitatum libri duos.*
1619, Leyden, in his *Babylonicae, Indicae, Aegyptiae . . . philosophia primordia.*
1659, Hamburg, in Lambeccius.
1710, Leipzig, in Lambeccius.

French Translation by François Habert

1556, Paris.

The Latin Drama of the Renaissance (1340-1640)

THE LATIN drama of the Renaissance and Reformation has been studied mostly in Germany. Bahlmann and Bolte laid the bibliographical foundations[1] in the 1890s, and at the same time Creizenach was publishing the volumes of his great *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, which still contain the most comprehensive survey that we have of neo-Latin drama up to 1550. Rossi and Sanesi have dealt to some extent with the Latin drama in Italy,[2] but their treatment is superficial compared with Creizenach's. In French there is no significant scholarly work in this field. In England J. A. Symonds gave a good account of the humanist drama in his *Renaissance in Italy* (1875) twenty years before Creizenach, but it was not until the appearance of Boas' *University Drama in the Tudor Age* in 1907 that any work on Anglo-Latin dramatists was available. A complete short-title bibliography of the printed neo-Latin drama to 1650 (which now supersedes the very imperfect and incomplete list which appeared in *PMLA* LVIII, 1943) is provided at the end of this essay. No one has yet attempted a guide to the many manuscript Latin plays of this period preserved in European libraries; for manuscripts in England there is much valuable information in Alfred Harbage's 'Census of Anglo-Latin Plays' in *PMLA* LIII, 1938.

The earliest Renaissance Latin play preserved for us, the *Ecerinis* (1314) of Albertinus Mussatus, was an attempt to give literary form to the violent and catastrophic career of Ezzelino, the great lieutenant of Frederick II. The speeches and choruses are in verse—even though the verse leaves much to be desired in the way of correctness—and the manu-

[1] Paul Bahlmann, *Die lateinischen Dramen von Stilpho bis zur Mitte des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Münster, 1893), *Die Erneuerer des antiken Dramas* (Münster, 1896); Johannes Bolte, 'Die lateinischen Dramen Frankreichs aus dem 16. Jahrhundert', *Festschrift Johannes Vahlen* (Berlin, 1900), pp. 589–613.

[2] Vittorio Rossi, *Il Quattrocento* (Milan, 1933); Ireneo Sanesi, *La commedia* (Milan, 1935).

scripts show what the printed editions do not, that the author did not divide the play into acts. Neither did he observe the unities of time and place. In both of these points Mussatus was simply following the example of Seneca as he knew him, for the early manuscripts of Seneca's plays are not provided with act divisions and neither the *Phoenissae* nor the *Hercules Oetaeus* strictly observes the unities. In the preface the author tells us that the similarity between the wickedness of Ezzelino and that of Atreus and Medea reminded him of Seneca and induced him to cast his material into dramatic form. His work arouses admiration for its vigor and originality, but the last two acts are weak and do not live up to the promise of the earlier part of the play. In this, the very first of Senecan imitations, we already see the undue use of the messenger and his narrative as a substitute for real dramatic action. We must admit, nevertheless, that there was more excuse for this practice in the fourteenth century than in the sixteenth, for the earliest humanists wrote only for public recitation, not stage production.

Mussatus' choice of recent history for tragic material was not followed by his successors: Antonius Luschus, *Achilleis* (*ca.* 1390), Gregorius Corrarius, *Progne* (*ca.* 1428), and Leonardus Dathus, *Hiempsal* (1442).[3] Their method, dictated by the growing desire to be as classical as possible, was to choose a subject from ancient legend or history which Seneca had not used and then to treat it as they thought Seneca would have done. They all wrote in verse, used choruses, and had no formal act divisions, although the latter were added by later copyists and editors. Non-classical elements occasionally creep in. Just as Mussatus had introduced Satan into his tragedy, so Dathus uses such allegorical figures as Ambition, Envy, Discord, and others in a thoroughly medieval way, though doubtless he would have adduced the authority of Plautus's newly discovered *Trinummus* for this.

With the *Hiempsal* of Dathus the course of humanistic Latin tragedy came to an end rather suddenly. This tragedy was purely Senecan in intention, being quite innocent of any knowledge of Greek drama. It seems to have had little appeal for sixteenth-century readers, for *Hiempsal* was not printed at all, *Progne* was not printed until 1558, and the tragedies of Mussatus and Luschus not until the seventeenth century. Nevertheless, by its very nature it was in the main tradition of Italian tragedy. When the vernacular writers produced their tragedies in the sixteenth

[3] See Creizenach, II, 518n., for mention of plan by Giovanni Manzini della Motta in 1388 to use recent history for the subject of a tragedy.

century it was again the violence and horror of Seneca which dominated their choice of material.

Latin comedy, which started seventy-five years later than tragedy (except for Petrarch's lost *Philostratus*[4]), had quite a different history. Plautus and Terence, unlike Seneca, presented stories of ordinary life, and Italian dramatists had no difficulty in adapting them to the daily life of their own time. The earliest Latin comedy, P. P. Vergerius' *Paulus* (*ca.* 1390), is a satirical student morality play, giving a lively picture of the exploitation of university students by the servants whom they hire while in residence. It purports to teach morality by showing what kind of conduct to avoid. This opens the way for scenes of drinking, wenching, and other student vices, cleverly combined into a plot of considerable comic potentiality. Similar moral purpose was claimed for Mercurius Ranzius' *De falso hypocrito* (*ca.* 1437), but when Aeneas Sylvius claims it for his realistic brothel scenes in *Chrysis* (1444) one feels that the claim has lost all real meaning. Many of the early writers of comedy make no such claim. Antonius Tridentonus simply dramatizes a story of marital infidelity from Boccaccio in his *Fraudiphila* (*ca.* 1440). Hugolinus Pisanus, in his *Philogenia et Epiphebus* (*ca.* 1440), wrote the best of these cynical comedies. A rich young townsman seduces a girl whom he later marries off to one of his peasants in the country, telling her that it will be easy to continue their love affair on market days when her husband comes to town. The characters are sharply and skillfully etched, and the scene in which the cynical priest hears the girl's confession is worthy of Machiavelli's *Mandragola*. An imitation of *Philogenia*, written apparently in the middle of the fifteenth century by one Joannes de Vallata, otherwise unknown, has recently been discovered in a manuscript in the Biblioteca Colombina in Seville.[5] Presumably Vallata was an Italian.

In these Latin comedies, written long before there was any comedy in Italian, we see the development of a realistic satirical technique which the vernacular writers were to take over and use when they began to write their own comedies in the first decade of the sixteenth century.

The plays we have been discussing owe a debt, of course, to Plautus and Terence, but a debt consisting more of details than of major influences. One example of this is worth discussing, as it runs consistently through all humanistic comedy both early and late: the naming of the characters. Some of the names, like Stichus and Gurgulio, come directly

[4] See Creizenach, I, 530.

[5] See *Poliodorus comoedia humanistica desconocida*, ed. J. M. Casas Homs (Madrid, 1953).

from Roman comedy, but others are derived from Roman poets and historians, and in addition contemporary Italian and German names, like Nicolosa and Sigismundus, are sometimes used. Fourteenth-century humanists usually knew at least a little Greek and were aware of the Greek origin of most of the names in Roman comedy. Titus Livius Frulovisius, whose work will be mentioned a little later, introduced many Greek names into his comedies and always explained the meanings in his glosses.

There were, however, other writers who attempted to follow classical models more closely. Of these Leonardus Aretinus (Bruni) was the oldest. His *Poliscena* (*ca.* 1400) is a rather simple tale of a youth and a girl whom he sees in church and the intrigues by which his servant Gurgulio and Tharatantara, an old woman in his father's household, bring them together. The author seems to be trying, to the best of his rather limited ability, to work out the story on Terentian lines.[6] The *Philodoxios* (1424) of L. B. Albertus is somewhat more successful. It is closer to Roman comedy, especially in the addition of the recognition scene of a lost relative. It was first offered—either fraudulently or as a joke—as a genuine ancient comedy and was still described as such in the first printed edition in 1588. To us today it seems as if the preface should have given cause for suspicion to any learned reader. All these early comedies are in prose and were originally, before the later humanistic editors got at them, without act divisions.

None of the plays so far named was acted, so far as we know, but the career of Titus Livius Frulovisius proves that plays were sometimes acted in schools in the middle of the fifteenth century. Frulovisius, who studied Greek under Chrysoloras, became a schoolmaster in Venice and later lived for a while in England, where he wrote a Latin life of Henry v at the request of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester. He wrote seven comedies in Latin prose, three of which we know were produced in his school in Venice during the year 1432–33. It is not quite clear whether they were acted in dumb-show with a *recitator* reading the lines or whether the actors themselves spoke, but in any case it is clear that they were acted before an audience. These plays draw their themes from contemporary life but imitate the style, characters, and situations of Plautus and Terence. They have unity of place—at least to the extent of the scene being all in one town—but not of time.

[6] Bruni began but did not complete a revised version of this play. It is printed without author or title in Hilarius Drudo's *Practica artis amandi* (Amsterdam, 1651), pp. 149 ff.

The imitation of Roman models continued in the *Epirota* (1483) of Thomas Medius, the *Stephanium* (*ca.* 1500) of Joannes Harmonius, the *Dolotechne* (1504) of Bartholomaeus Zambertus, and the *Bophilaria* and *Annularia* of Aegidius Gallus (1504). This period at the end of the fifteenth century saw a remarkable improvement in the ability of the authors to imitate Latin comic style. Medius still wrote in prose in 1483, whereas by 1504 Aegidius was writing what doubtless passed in his day for excellent reproductions of the meters of classical comedy. The work of the four writers just mentioned, like that of Brunus and Albertus, cannot compare in liveliness and originality with the earlier satirical comedies, but they do show what the immediate background of Ariosto, Machiavelli, and Pietro Aretino was like. When these men of real genius had taken over the technique of the Latin comedy and used it for vernacular plays there was apparently no longer any room for the former, and it ceased to be written—or at any rate published—after 1505.[7]

From 1505 until 1587 there was almost no Latin drama in Italy except for the religious plays of Janus Anysius, Carolus Martiranus, and J. F. Quintianus Stoa, which will be duscussed elsewhere. When the Latin drama was revived by Franciscus Bencius and the later Jesuits its tone and subject matter were entirely different.

There remain to be discussed two Latin dramas performed in Rome in the early 1490s dealing with contemporary Spanish history. Carolus Verardus' *Historia baetica* (1492) presented on the stage a series of rather undramatic scenes in which we follow the course of the final conquest of Granada by Ferdinand and Isabella. The action, if one can call it such, shifts freely from one headquarters to the other, and the whole performance is closer to the medieval mystery play in its method than to classical drama. This play was followed in the next year by Marcellinus Verardus' *Fernandus seruatus*, which he called a tragedy, dramatizing in a similarly naive fashion the failure of an attempt to murder the king. While these two productions are negligible from the point of view of dramatic art they had an important influence on Jacobus Locherus in Germany and they helped to establish a tradition that drama could deal with contemporary history.

In Spain and Portugal Latin drama did not flourish nor did it ever take the lead over vernacular drama as it did in almost every other European country at the beginning of the Renaissance. University plays

[7] This statement takes no account of Thylesius's *Imber aureus* (printed 1529), which is a tragicomedy and in no sense an imitation of Plautus and Terence.

seem to have been written in a mixture of Latin and Spanish to judge from Garcia Soriano's account in his *Teatro universitario y humanistico* (Toledo, 1945). Occasionally one was written in Latin alone, but such plays rarely got into print. The two earliest Latin plays to be printed in Spain, the *Galathea* and *Zephira* of Hercules Florus, appeared together and exist in a single copy in the Biblioteca Colombina in Seville. The mutilated colophon gives neither date nor place, but they are listed as Barcelona, 1502, in the catalogue. The first play, which is in four acts, is a strange mixture of the tragic romance type (such as the *Celestina*) with a rather medieval use of gods, goddesses, and allegorical figures such as Occasio, Ultima Necessitas, and Ratio. The death of the two lovers shows that earthly love leads to tragedy; the only solution is to devote oneself to scholarship and literature. This moral and academic conclusion suggests that the piece was meant for school or university production. It seems to owe almost nothing to Roman comedy. *Zaphira* is equally unclassical. A young girl married to an old man first decides to solace herself with a lover but later successfully carries out a plot to poison her husband and marry the lover. It is difficult to imagine for what audience this brazen defiance of two of the Ten Commandments could have been intended.[8] The only other Latin play of this early period in Spain which is worth notice is the *Hispaniola* of Joannes Maldonatus, produced in 1519. The only extant edition, which is apparently the third, was printed at Burgos in 1535. This piece belongs to an entirely different tradition, being a fabliau tale about an amorous monk and the trick played upon him by pranksters. It has been expanded to five acts (in prose) by the addition of characters and incidents from Roman comedy. Any conclusions about Latin drama in Spain drawn from these three disparate productions would be worthless until more texts have been discovered.

To return now to Locher, it seems likely that on his Italian trip in 1493 he had come across Verardus' *Historica baetica*, for in 1495 he wrote and produced in Freiburg his own *Historia de rege Franciae*, which deals with the campaigns of Charles VIII against Naples. Locher's piece has the advantage, at any rate, of being embellished with choruses set to music. It was evidently well received, for he followed it with two others in 1497 and 1502 based on the Turkish wars.[9]

[8] These plays are not mentioned in any account of early Spanish drama I have seen. I am indebted to Professor Joseph E. Gillet for calling attention to them and to Professor Revilo P. Oliver for sending me a synopsis of the action.

[9] Still another historical drama or dialogue by Locher has been found in a Paris manu-

Johannes Kitscherus, another German humanist who had been to Italy, was also inspired by Verardus' work to produce his *Tragicomoedia* (1501) on the adventures attending the pilgrimage of the Duke of Pomerania to Jerusalem. Much more important, both as history and as drama, is Hermann Schottenius' tragedy on the Peasants' Rebellion, *Ludus Martius* (1527). Here we see Bellona, ineffectually opposed by Peace, stirring up the peasants to revolt. When the princes refuse to give any heed to their complaints, open war breaks out. The peasants despoil the churches and monasteries but are finally conquered in a stage battle. No classical influence is involved here except for the use of a few names like Ulysses for individual princes. The play is much more in the tradition of the Tegernsee *Antichristus*[10] of the thirteenth century than of Seneca. With Schottenius' other play, *Ludus imperatorius*, we are already in the field of Reformation polemics. Again it is cast in the style of medieval morality plays, although classical names like Cupid, Pluto, and Mars are used to personify the forces of evil. By them the clergy and laity are corrupted and turned away from the church. At the end Aquila Caesarea announces that Charles V will take steps to fight against the evils portrayed in the play. This sort of thing soon led to the much more powerful dramatic satires of Hasenbergius, Lemnius, and Naogeorgus, which will be discussed at a later point.

We must now go back to the beginnings of German Latin drama before Locher. Humanism in Italy had been an indigenous movement and seems to have made its way without serious opposition. In northern Europe it is well known that this was not the case. The earliest Latin dramas in Germany were, therefore, part of the literary warfare between the humanists and their enemies. Johannes Kerkmeisterus' *Codrus* (1485) is a savage attack on old-fashioned schoolmasters who are ignorant of the new learning. Jacobus Wimphelingius, using a different approach, showed the results of ignorance on the part of a young man in his *Stilpho* (1495). Henricus Bebelius, in his *Comoedia de optimo studio* (1504), treats the subject more calmly as a matter for intellectual debate between scholars, but the play ends with a defense of the humanistic literary ideal.

All this is far removed from Johannes Reuchlinus' simple desire to put a good story on the stage in his *Scenica progymnasmata* or *Henno* in

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script. It deals with the Pope's attempt to promote a European peace in 1513. See L. Geiger's article in *Zeitschrift für vergl. Litteraturgeschichte und Ren. Litt.*, I (1887).

[10] For an account of the *Antichristus* see E. K. Chambers, *Medieval Stage* (Oxford, 1903), II, 62–64.

1498. He was acquainted with the fifteenth-century French farces—he is somewhat indebted to *Maître Patelin*—and decided to see whether they could be adapted to the five-act structure of Latin comedy. This fabliau of husband and wife and neighbors, ending up with a marriage, is an important step in the development of the short farce into full length drama. The play is further expanded by musical choruses which serve as between-the-acts entertainment. Nothing equal to it in the vernacular drama of northern Europe was to be produced for a long time. Its contemporary popularity is indicated by the appearance of nine editions by 1515. At about this same time we find the Dutchman Hermann Knuyt van Sluyterhoven writing and publishing in Bologna a merrily indecent little one-act farce, *Scornetta*, about an old tipsy cook whose quite earthy love affair with a shepherd is discovered by her mistress. A good deal of the fun arises from the use of the verse and style of Vergil's eclogues in presenting quite un-Vergilian material. Except for *Scornetta*, extremely rare today and perhaps not much better known in its own day, Reuchlinus remained for some time the only dramatist to have dealt with fabliau material, although a Latin translation of *Maître Patelin* by Connibertus appeared in 1512; but Reuchlinus' work was in the next generation taken up and improved upon by one of the most successful of sixteenth-century dramatists, Georgius Macropedius. He himself tells us that he began to write plays as early as 1507, but none was published until 1535. Consequently we cannot be sure that *Aluta*, printed in that year, was not written much earlier. Since he also said that he was led to try his hand at drama by the example of Reuchlinus we may well suspect a date closer to 1507. Soon after the printing of *Aluta* his two other peasant comedies, *Andrisca* and *Bassarus*, were also published. These three together form a major contribution to the drama of his time. They are full of lively action, good fun, and unflagging amusement. Although they do not lack occasional borrowings from Plautus, nothing more unclassical could be imagined. The life of the country village is here reproduced in much the same way as in the English *Gammer Gurton's Needle* of 1553, and one suspects that the anonymous author of that play had read Macropedius.

In the 1530s we also get a glimpse of some Latin farces in France which have been rescued from manuscript obscurity: *Advocatus*, acted at Paris in 1532, and two plays acted in an unnamed French college, *Marabeus* and *Lipocordulus*. *Advocatus* and *Lipocordulus* deal with the usual fabliau theme of marital infidelity. *Marabeus* concerns the complicated low-life adventures of a poor devil who finds himself starving in Paris. It would

appear that in the course of the action several contemporary personages are satirized. Peasant life is also used for comic purposes in the Latin plays of J. L. Placentius (*Clericus eques* and *Lucianus aulicus*, 1535), Arnold Madirus (*Pisander bombylius*, 1540), and Maternus Steyndörfferus (*Comoedia tractans de matrimonio*, 1540). Copies of all four of these plays are unfortunately quite rare, so that with a few exceptions they are known only to readers of Creizenach, who summarizes them. They deserve to be more widely read.

We have already noted in discussing plays on contemporary history that religious controversy provided much material for the drama. It is now time to return to this subject. Luther himself is a principal figure in two satirical attacks written during his lifetime: Simon Lemnius' obscene *Monachopornomachia* (1538) and Johann Hasenbergius' attack on Luther's marriage, *Ludus ludentem Luderum ludens* (1530). There had also been in London in 1528 a Latin play—now lost—against Luther, in which his wife was a character.

To these attacks the Protestant reply was the polemical drama of Thomas Naogeorgus (Kirchmayer). Two of Naogeorgus' plays, *Pammachius* and *Incendia*, deal directly with the Reformation and are violent attacks on the papacy. The pope and the cardinals are represented as in league with the devil to suppress true religion in the world. A third, *Mercator*, is a variation on the *Everyman* theme. The protagonist, a rich merchant, is summoned by death. He feels himself mortally ill and sends for the priest, who attempts to cure him and to calm his mind by the various comforts of the Roman church. These all prove unavailing. Finally God in heaven has mercy on this sinner and sends St. Paul, with the physician Kosmas, to his aid. At the insistence of Kosmas the merchant takes a bitter emetic and soon begins to vomit up—all this right on the stage—pilgrimages, fasts, alms, masses, all the Roman apparatus of salvation. Only after these have been cleared out of his system can he hope to die in peace and enter heaven. As usual in Reformation plays, the devil takes a prominent part in the action, hoping to get the hero's soul and egging on his human allies. The last two acts continue the satire into the next world. The merchant's soul is on its way to the judgment seat, accompanied by the souls of a prince, a bishop, and a friar. All except the merchant are staggering under enormous packs containing altars, prayerbooks, and other ecclesiastical paraphernalia by which they hope to be saved. Standing at last before the heavenly judge they are all condemned to eternal punishment except the merchant.

This play is a good example of Naogeorgus' power as a dramatist. Well read in Aristophanes, he loved the startling and the grotesque. His powerful imagination, not unlike Bunyan's though more violent, delighted in strikingly concrete embodiment of his abstract ideas. When such a writer turned to Biblical themes he did not leave his intensity behind him. Villains like Haman and traitors like Judas become impressive figures under the driving power of his passionate thought. For to him the Bible was all contemporary allegory. Haman is all those in power who seek to destroy God's people (i.e., the Protestants) and Judas is all those former Protestants whom fear or hope of gain have led to renounce their allegiance. Thus with Naogeorgus Biblical drama and polemical drama are inseparable.

In conclusion, it should be pointed out that the scarcity of editions of the Latin text of Naogeorgus' plays is misleading. They circulated all over northern Europe in vernacular translations which undercut the sale of the Latin. In one form or another his work was known everywhere.

The expected rapid downfall of the papacy was a favorite theme in Protestant propaganda, and its greatest expression in drama was Naogeorgus' *Pammachius*, as we have seen. John Foxe, the English martyrologist, also entered the field with his only play, *Christus triumphans* (1556). It is much milder than *Pammachius*, most of it being an historical pageant of church history. Only in the last two acts are the evils of the papacy exposed, and the play ends not with the downfall of the evil powers (Satan is of course a prominent character) but with the members of the true church awaiting the coming of Christ. Nearly a century later an apocalyptic play entitled *De Michaele adversus Belialem* (1646) by Johannes Micraellius was acknowledged by its author to have been inspired by Foxe's play, which he had doubtless read in the 1590 Nuremberg edition. Another later Protestant play involving divine judgment and the coming of Christ is Nicodemus Frischlinus' *Phasma* (1592). Here we are first shown the confusion arising from the multiplying of sects after Luther's rebellion. Husbands leave their wives in order to become Anabaptists, Luther condemns Karlstadt, and Schwenkfeld condemns both of them. Two bewildered peasants discuss the question whether they can be damned for believing what they are taught by their superiors. The pope is shown taking counsel with Campeggio against the Protestants. In the midst of this confusion Christ, St. Peter, and St. Paul arrive. Christ proceeds to sit in judgment on the whole lot, and only good Lutherans are saved. There is a ruthless savagery of attack in the works of

both Naogeorgus and Frischlinus which makes for good vigorous drama.

On the Catholic side we have, after the early attacks on Luther, only the *Evangelicus fluctuans* (1563) of Andreas Fabricius and the *Ecclesia militans* (1573) of Michael Hiltprandus. Fabricius lacked the *saeva indignatio* of his Protestant opponents and devoted his play to showing how a heretic was finally brought back to the Roman church and saved. It is a kinder and more humane play than *Phasma*, but much duller. *Ecclesia militans* also includes the return of a heretic, but in its entirety it is quite a different sort of play. A long production in two parts, each in five acts, it gives, like Foxe's play, a pageant of church history ending this time with Antichrist and the end of the world. The only significant difference is that the papal side triumphs instead of the Protestant side.

The whole subject is brought to an end, so far as our survey is concerned, by the lengthy historical drama *Lutherus*, written in 1617 by Henricus Hirtzwigius to celebrate the one-hundredth anniversary of Luther's revolt. Here we find more interest in narrative and less in propaganda. The split in the church has become an accepted fact, and neither side hopes for an immediate victory.

Since sixteenth-century Latin drama was written almost entirely for schools and universities it is not surprising that the main bulk of it was intended for religious instruction. This situation invites comparison with medieval drama, which was almost exclusively religious. We find at once that in both periods two main categories of religious drama existed: Biblical plays and moral plays. Within these categories certain interesting differences are to be noted. With very few exceptions the Old Testament plays of the middle ages are found combined in great cycles like the York and Chester cycles in England or the *Mystère du vieil testament* in France, whereas Renaissance plays were written for individual performance. Thus it is difficult to say that any one Old Testament figure was more popular than another in medieval drama. In the succeeding age we can count individual plays. It is easy to point out that the most popular character was Joseph, on whom a dozen plays appeared before 1650. These are almost equally divided between plays covering his whole career and plays dealing only with his imprisonment at the instigation of Potiphar's wife and his subsequent rise to power under Pharaoh. After Joseph the favorite figures were Adam and Eve, Isaac, David, Esther, and Susanna, on each of whom there are about half a dozen plays. Other subjects dramatized were Abel, Agag, Elijah, Deborah, Gideon, Jereboam, Jeremiah, Jonah, Job, Jephtha, Ruth, Saul, Samuel,

Solomon, Sodom, Tobias, and Zedekiah. Although the story of Job in the Bible is very close to dramatic form in the way the story is told, it had almost no appeal for Renaissance dramatists, only one play being written on the subject. It is interesting to note that Noah, that favorite of the English mystery cycles, drops out altogether.

Since Bible story was more important than art-form, the writers of these plays show a marked neglect of the hard and fast classical distinction between comedy and tragedy. The favorite subjects were the stories with happy endings, the tragicomedies such as Esther, Susanna, Daniel, and especially Joseph.[11] Unfortunately none of these plays rises above competent mediocrity. Only two out of all the Old Testament plays are of high enough quality to call for separate comment, and these are both straight tragedies. They are the *Jephthes* (1554) of Georgius Buchananus and the *Thamara* (1611) of Rochus Honerdius. In his treatment of the Jephtha story Buchanan had before him the classical precedents of a daughter's sacrifice in Euripides' *Hecuba* and *Iphigenia in Aulis*. He imposes a strict unity of time and place on his materials, but what little he loses in naturalness of narrative is more than compensated by the increased intensity of emotion. The concealing from the other characters in the play of the nature of Jephtha's vow until after his meeting with his daughter gives a new irony to everything that is said in that great scene. Buchanan's command of poetic language (he was acknowledged to be the best Latin poet of his age) enabled him to make the most out of all the excellent dramatic situations provided by the story. The special distinction of Honerdius' treatment of the rape of Tamar lies not so much in form and structure, although these are well handled, as in his conception of the characters and in his psychological interpretation. The Book of Samuel in the Bible presents the story as a case of deception and ruthless brutality, and its purpose is to help motivate Absalom's rebellion. Honerdius, on the other hand, determined to give as sympathetic as possible a picture of Amnon, the betrayer. He shows him to us at first as a man struggling with what he knows to be a sinful passion. His mental state is pitiable; he really is sick, not just pretending to be so. In this state he falls easy prey to the suggestion of his sycophantic servant that he induce his sister to visit him. Tamar is presented as having a tenderly sympathetic character, very anxious to help her brother. All this preparation in the first three acts gives a powerful impact to the unwilling confession

[11] M. T. Herrick, in his *Tragicomedy* (Urbana, 1955), devotes a whole chapter to the influence of Latin Biblical plays on the growth of tragicomedy as a genre in the Renaissance.

of Tamar to Absalom in the fourth act as to what has happened to her. David, who believes the crime to be part of God's punishment of him for his adultery with Bathsheba, refuses to punish his son, and the tragedy ends with Absalom's vow to avenge his sister himself. Here, certainly, is a real development of Senecanism towards a more credible human psychology and a most interesting anticipation of the kind of probing of tortured souls which was to characterize Racine's tragedies half a century later.

Coming now to New Testament material we find similar shifts of interest. John the Baptist, who is rarely introduced in medieval drama, was the subject of five plays, two of them very distinguished productions. Mary Magdalen, the usual example of life in sin for the middle ages, sinks into obscurity before the flood of prodigal son plays which treat the same theme. So popular indeed was the subject of the erring son's riotous living that it finds outlet also in the student morality plays, where the career of the unstudious student is obviously modeled on that of the prodigal son (or vice versa—it is not easy to tell which way the influence runs) and even spills over into the story of the Good Samaritan. In Papeus' *Samarites* (1539) the man who fell among thieves is a prodigal, and the first three acts of the play are devoted to his previous life. Besides the plays on these two parables there were dramatic treatments of five others. Four plays presented Dives and Lazarus, two the lost sheep, and there were single plays on the vineyard, the marriage feast, and the foolish virgins.

Events in the life of Christ were naturally treated by both medieval and Renaissance writers, but the choice of subjects differed somewhat. The Nativity, so popular in earlier days, was now little used, although a few plays were devoted to Herod and the slaughter of the innocents. Jesus among the doctors in the temple is the topic of one of Macropedius' plays. Events in the ministry of Christ form the subject matter of five plays. Three of these are on incidents popular in medieval drama (the raising of Lazarus and the healing of the blind man) and two on new incidents (the calling of Zacchaeus and Christ teaching his disciples). One group of plays deals with the trial and crucifixion, a subject which could be thought of as in some fashion fitting the requirements of classical tragedy (although none of them tries to preserve unity of place) as long as the resurrection was not included. None of this group is equal, as drama, to Naogeorgus' powerful *Judas*. One highly unusual play deserves notice at this point, the *Parabata vinctus, sive triumphus Christi* (1595) of

J. A. Thuanus. Parabata is Satan. Christ, who does not appear in the play, has, by his victory over death and sin, chained Satan. Picturing this situation in a literal sense, the author was reminded of the *Prometheus vinctus* of Aeschylus, and proceeded to write a tragedy in imitation of that work. Satan is visited first by a chorus of sympathetic fallen angels from hell and then, in a succession of scenes, by Job, Moses, Elijah, John the Baptist, and the angel Gabriel. The Christian spirit of forgiveness in which the various characters come to visit Satan is vividly contrasted with his haughty and unrepentant attitude. Both in dignity of language and in his combination of pride, despair, and courage, he reminds us of Milton's Satan. As an imitation of Aeschylus it is unique in neo-Latin drama, and on its own merits it deserves praise for poetical style and for character drawing.

With a few exceptions like this the Latin plays on the Bible pay little attention to classical models. Some of them have choruses, but the choruses are only a vestigial Senecan influence and are as likely to turn up in comedies or tragicomedies as in tragedies. On the comic side, however, one finds the authors going to Plautus, and particularly Terence (Schonaeus called the collection of his Biblical plays *Terentius christianus*), for materials to fill out the space required for a five-act play, usually servant and parasite scenes, but the general spirit is of course quite different. Although often slavishly adhering to the five-act rule, they paid little attention to unity of time and place. Bible story was considered more important than classical rules in this matter. One interesting exception to this general observation is Viperanus' rather late *Filius prodigus* (1593). He makes the story into a fair semblance of a Terentian comedy by adding the father's desire to marry the prodigal's elder brother to the daughter of an old friend of his. The elder brother is of course in love with another girl and disappears on the occasion of his proposed marriage. But at this moment the prodigal, who has been given up as lost by his father, returns and gets the girl instead. In this way the whole action is made to take place in one day and at the father's house. Generally the plays are crowded with characters. The authors had schools to draw their cast from, and the more boys they used the better.

The subject which on the whole produced the best plays was that of John the Baptist. In this story it was possible to produce a variety of interest in the various forces, both private and political, which brought about John's death, to make striking character studies of Herod, John and Herodias, and to use the banquet scene for colorful effect and for the

introduction of music and dancing. Schöpperus, Grimaldus, and Buchananus all wrote excellent plays on this story in the 1540s. Buchanan's is the most powerful in conception and in poetical effect, as one would expect, but the other two also wrote plays worthy of their material. Grimald's is especially remarkable for the enthusiasm with which he represents the love between Herod and Herodias and for his elaborate provision of song and dance in the banquet scene. Buchanan, who does not give us this scene on stage, is less effective in the end of the play than in the beginning, where he reveals to us the intrigues of the Pharisees against John and how they combine with Herodias to remove him from the scene. A fourth Baptist play, by Schonaeus, is in that author's usual pedestrian style.

The plays on the parables fall into a special class not only because of their great popularity but also because of the necessary difference in treatment. Whereas in plays on the trial and crucifixion or on John the Baptist the element of invention on the part of the author is at a minimum, in the parable plays it assumed large proportions. The parables themselves offered only the barest outline of narrative; it was up to the author to make them into full-length stories. The best example of this is, of course, the prodigal son plays, where the single phrase 'and wasted his substance in riotous living' is expanded to occupy three-quarters of the play. Good and bad servants, parasites and prostitutes are added from Roman comedy in order to provide more material. One of the best examples of this is the immensely popular *Acolastus* (1529) of Gnaphaeus, the first of all the Latin prodigal son plays. In this long and verbosely moral production there is little dramatic development compared to later versions, but the father worrying about his son, the son's evil counselor, the hungry parasite, the comic servants, and the avaricious prostitute are all carefully copied from Roman comedy. The play, which was doubtless often used as a school text, went through thirty-two editions in the sixteenth century. Macropedius' *Asotus* (1537) is more in the medieval tradition and contains more additions to the Biblical story. The son's prodigal life after he leaves home is prepared for by scenes which show him engaged in riotous living before his departure.

We now turn to the other category of religious drama, the morality play. This medieval form did not at first find much favor in our period. In the earliest examples we find the authors trying to assume a classical disguise, as in Chelidonius' *Voluptatis cum virtute disceptatio* (1515) where Venus and Pallas strive for the mastery. Yet when Pallas wins, the play

ends with a purely medieval touch, for devils carry Venus and Cupid off to hell. In Schöpperus' play on the same theme (*Voluptatis ac virtutis pugna*, 1546) we find the figures of Sardanapalus, Paris, Semiramis, and Cleopatra mixed in with the standard morality abstractions. A similar use of classical figures is found in Gnaphaeus' *Hypocrisis* (1544) and Artopoeus' *Apotheosis Minervae* (1551). Another way of making a morality plot seem classical was to give it the superficial appearance of a Roman comedy. Thus Hegendorphinus in his *Comoedia nova* (1520) teaches morality through the contrasted careers of two brothers, sons of an old man, and the bad son is in league with Thays, a typical Plautine *meretrix*. In form, however, it is quite unclassical, being in twelve 'acts' in prose, even though only twelve pages long.

These pieces have nothing to do with the big outburst of Latin moralities towards the middle of the century, which was touched off by Ischyrius' Latin translation of a now lost Dutch original under the title of *Homulus*. It is about half again as long as *Elckerlijk*, the Dutch *Everyman*, on which it is based. The plot is not changed, but the play is expanded by the addition of many new minor characters. This inspired Macropedius, who had already written a student morality and a prodigal son play, to write his *Hecastus* (1539) in which the story is further enlarged by the representation of the prosperous life of Hecastus, who boasts that he holds no heretical opinions and goes to church regularly, before the arrival of the summons from God. This occupies all of the first act. In the last act also new material is added when we see the sons already quarreling about the division of their father's estate. Finally the devil, who is ubiquitous in these plays, tries without success but with much bluster to get Hecastus' soul. Macropedius gives us a full and satisfying dramatic entertainment, one of the high spots of the neo-Latin drama. It was followed in the next year by an equally distinguished play, Naogeorgus' *Mercator*, which we have already discussed. Brechtanus' *Euripus* (1549), Frachaeus' *Comoedia* (1550), and Gamerius' *Pornius* belong to the general class of moralities in which a representative of mankind is the hero, but they are not based on the concentrated coming-of-death theme which characterizes the plays derived from *Elckerlijk*. Instead they follow the older method of giving man's whole spiritual career, starting with innocent youth. Even later examples are Houthemius' *Theatrum humanae vitae* (1574) and Crucius' *Vita humana* (1605).

A special class of the morality play is that based on student life. Macropedius had initiated this in 1535 with his *Rebelles* even before the ap-

pearance of *Homulus*. His play is a purely secular cautionary tale. Two schoolboys, spoiled by the indulgence of their mothers, run away from school, get into bad company and are caught stealing. The schoolmaster saves them from the death penalty by telling the judge that as students they are subject to his laws and not to those of the city. The repentant boys get off with a whipping. Additional detail is supplied by two devils who are always hanging around congratulating themselves on how easy it will be to get the boys' souls. His *Petriscus* (1536) tells the same kind of story with different characters. These two plays went through several editions, but could not rival the popularity of Stymmelius' moral comedy *Studentes*, which appeared in 1549, ran through ten editions in the next thirty years, and was reprinted as late as 1647. This play shifts the scene to university life, but follows the same pattern of prodigality and repentance. As might be expected, the complication of a liaison with a girl is added. The *Cornelius relegatus* (1602) of Wichgrevius is a later version of the same theme, though in this one the hero is assisted in his reformation by finding a hidden treasure (whose location is revealed to him by a ghost!) with which he pays off his debts. In the *Agapetus scholasticus* of Knaustus the plot takes a more romantic turn, for the truant students end up among a gang of robbers before being brought back repentant to the classroom.

Plays on classical subjects (i.e., ancient history or myth) were quite unusual until after about 1550. Up to this time only half a dozen had appeared, and none of them of any importance.[12] Beginning with Muretus' *Julius Caesar* (1552) a change in literary taste set in, which resulted in the appearance of some forty such plays in the one hundred years following. The fame of the *Aeneid* led to the production of twelve dramatizations of parts of its story, all those that I have seen being quite dull and frigid. The best of the lot is Knaustus' *Dido* (1566), which has been expanded to a cast of thirty-seven characters (including a *morio*), but even Knaustus has a great tendency towards long oratorical speeches. In these plays we see none of the inventiveness which made good stage action out of some of the seemingly undramatic New Testament parables. Yet Frischlinus, one of the worst offenders in regard to Vergil, wrote two highly dramatic plays on Julius Caesar. One of these, *Helvetio-Ger-*

[12] Bahlmann says that Quintianus Stoa wrote fourteen tragedies in Latin on classical subjects. If they ever existed they have presumably been lost. Bahlmann refers to A. Chassang, *Essais dramatiques* (1852), p. 181, and R. Prölss, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas* (1881), II, 15. Neither book gives any source for the statement.

mani (1589), is drawn from the campaign against Ariovistus in the first book of the *Gallic Wars*, but the other is an amusing farce, *Julius redivivus* (1585), in which Caesar and Cicero come to earth again and make a visit to Germany.

Very few of the plays on classical subjects which also preserve classical form are at all endurable. Those which can be read with pleasure today are the ones which cast off the restraint of the rules and offer us instead good dramatic effects. Gager, in England, produced two lively plays on Greek stories, *Meleager* and *Ulysses redux* (both printed in 1592). It has been remarked by his editor that his plays 'are twice as long as the average of Seneca and four times as full of variety and bustle'. Junius, in Germany, took the lugubrious theme of *Lucretia* (1608) and filled it full of life and action. There are scenes in the camp, with soldiers and a drummer, as well as the tragic scenes at Lucrece's house, and the various actions require a large cast. This is in striking contrast with the only other play on Lucrece, written in 1597 by Fridericus Balduinus. Here Senecan severity prevails. In order to squeeze the action into one day and one place the author begins the play after the rape has taken place! This leaves no opportunity for anything but the monotonous insistence of Lucrece that she will kill herself (which, however, she does not accomplish until the fourth act) and the villainous self-congratulations of Sextus Tarquinius. Finally a messenger tells us of the revenge taken by her husband and friends. Matthew Gwinne's *Nero* (1603) is a historical chronicle which is a good deal closer to Legge's *Richardus tertius* than to Seneca, though doubtless the Senecan *Octavia* is one of its literary ancestors. In five acts it covers the whole of Nero's reign and uses about a hundred characters. Each act is preceded by a different ghost, several of them being the ghosts of people recently murdered in the play. It must have fully satisfied the Elizabethan taste for blood and thunder.

The rescue of Andromeda by Perseus forms the subject of a pleasantly romantic play by Brulovius in 1611. The action is episodic, and there are some fairly convincing love scenes between the hero and heroine. It is also interesting to see the vigor with which Perseus disposes of Andromeda's former suitor, who tries to make good his claim. Three plays in the early seventeenth century were made from Heliodorus' long romance, the *Aethiopica*. The first, Wolfgang Waldungus' *Aethiopicus*, mentioned in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, I have not been able to see. The other two, Scholvinus' *Aethiopissa* (1608) and Brulovius' *Chariclia* (1614), perform the almost incredible task of including the whole story of the

two main characters in five acts. One need hardly add that each dramatist has provided a large cast in addition to the principals.

Another kind of play which can be described as classical in subject matter is the comedy which is a strict imitation of Plautus and Terence. We have seen that this was done by Italian writers of Latin comedy in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, but suddenly stopped about 1505. Around the end of the century there was a brief revival of this type in Schonaeus' collection called *Terentius christianus*. Most of his plays are Biblical, but there are four really Terentian comedies: *Pseudostratiotes* (1592), *Cunae* (1599), *Vitulus* (1599), and *Dyscoli* (1604). To these we may add Avianus' *Miles vagus* (1597), an imitation of Plautus' *Miles gloriosus*, and the *Pendularia* (1620) of Nicholas Susius.

Italian Renaissance comedy in the vernacular was a combination of the dramatic technique of Roman comedy with plot material derived from Boccaccio and the other writers of *novelle*. Throughout most of Europe this kind of comedy had little appeal to the composers of Latin plays. Probably it was not thought suitable for audiences composed of schoolboys and their parents, for these comedies were usually immoral and not seldom indecent. The sole exception to this rule, so far as I know, was the University of Cambridge. Here, during the last quarter of the sixteenth and the first quarter of the seventeenth century, it became the fashion to put on Latin translations and adaptations of Italian comedies, sometimes of very recent ones, or to write independent compositions in the same style. The earliest recorded examples are the two plays of Abraham Fraunce both preserved in manuscript: *Hymenaeus* (1579) and *Victoria* (1582). The first is an original comedy based on Boccaccio (IV, 10). The story is very freely and very successfully dramatized. There are many rapid changes of fortune and a number of excellent comic scenes. Fraunce has changed Boccaccio's young man into a student in order to appeal to his student audience and has turned the intriguing wife into an unmarried girl. In his second play, however, he shows no such moral sensibility. It is a Latin version of Pasqualigo's *Il fedele*, which had appeared in Italy only five years before. It is a play with a cynically immoral plot and singularly repellent characters, among whom is a pedant. This favorite butt of academic humor is seized upon by Fraunce and developed into a much more important figure than he is in the original. Doubtless the success of Wingfield's *Pedantius*, an attack on Gabriel Harvey, a Cambridge scholar, in the previous year, suggested both the choice of the play and the enlarging of the pedant's part in it. These two plays set the pattern for what followed in the next fifty years. Three anony-

mous comedies, none of which were printed, continued the stream in the 1590s: *Laelia*, *Hispanus* (an Italian setting, with a Spanish character who is satirized), and *Machiavellus* (which has nothing to do with the author of *Il principe*). Walter Hawkesworth just around 1600 used G. B. della Porta's plays as sources for two of his own. *Leander* (written 1599, not printed) was suggested by *La fantesca*, and *Labyrinthus* (written 1603, printed 1636) is a close adaptation of *La Cintia*. Other later plays by Edmund Stubbe, Thomas Vincent, Thomas Randolph, and Peter Hausted seem to be original comedies in the Italian style, but this may be only because their sources have not yet been identified. The same thing could be said of the anonymous *Cancer*, printed in 1648 with Hackett's *Loiola* and Vincent's *Paria*. *Loiola*, a violent dramatic satire on Jesuits, does not belong to this group of Italianate comedies. All of these plays must have been lively entertainment, and the earliest ones were much better drama than the puerile vernacular stage of London at that time.

Another special category of Latin drama after 1550—and a very different one—was the drama of the Jesuit schools. The purpose of these plays was to provide an edifying Christian alternative to the works of secular dramatists, whether ancient or modern. The subject matter was usually selected from the lives of saints or from the history of the early church during the age of persecution under the Roman empire. There seem to be no particular favorites among the saints—at least as far as can be determined from the printed plays—for the fourteen saints' plays deal with fourteen different saints. Ambrose, Augustine, Lawrence, Catherine, and Ignatius Loyola were among those chosen. One of the best of these is also the earliest: Holonius' *Lambertias* (1556). It presents the story of Bishop Lambert of Lüttich, who, like John the Baptist, warned his sovereign against adultery and suffered death through the machinations of the offended woman in the case. The play contains a number of excellent dramatic scenes. The others in this group are sometimes interesting in their material but are not noteworthy as literature. Ten plays deal with Biblical subjects, all of them except one on the prodigal son being devoted to Old Testament figures: Joseph, Sisera, Manasses, Nebuchadnezzar, and three on Zedekiah. Of these, only Crucius' *Prodigus* (1605) is comparable in interest to the Biblical plays of Macropedius and Schöpper, to say nothing of Buchanan and Honerdius. The rest of the printed Jesuit plays are either moralities or secular history plays like Petavius' *Carthaginenses* (1616) or Donatus' *Suevia* (1630).

The three most considerable Jesuit dramatists were Ludovicus Cruci-

us, Johannes Surius, and Nicholas Caussinus, all of whom published their work in France in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. Caussinus was especially interested in the troubles caused by the Arian heresy, for two of his tragedies, *Theodoricus* and *Hermengildus* (both printed in 1620), are laid in that period of church history. In 1634 a collection of tragedies by six Jesuit writers (Donatus, Stephonius, Malapertius, Petavius, Libenius, and Cellotius) was issued in Antwerp under the title *Selectae PP. Societatis Jesu tragoediae*. Although it does not contain any of the very best plays in this category it does give a fair idea of the range of subject matter covered by these writers, for it includes Bible plays, saints' plays, and secular history plays. One misses only the plays on early church history. Neither Crucius nor Caussinus was included, and Holonius, who wrote seventy-five years earlier, had been forgotten.

The play on contemporary history had flourished in the period between 1490 and 1530 and then had ceased abruptly, perhaps being stifled by the rage for Biblical plays and moralities which began at that time. Except for Joannes Tevius' *Joannes princeps*, written in 1553 but not printed until the eighteenth century, no more plays on post-classical history were written until 1578. In that year Frischlinus published his *Hildegardis magna* in Tübingen, and Legge produced in Cambridge his trilogy *Richardus tertius*, which remained in manuscript until the nineteenth century. Although both of these plays use historical material they do it in quite different ways. Legge is interested in presenting the sequence of events in a crisis of English history covering three years, whereas Frischlinus is concerned only with a story about Charlemagne's private life, the banishment and return of his wife. Such an extensive subject as Legge's was not popular on the continent. Cramerus' *Plagium* (1593) dealt with the abduction and return of the two sons of Frederick II of Saxony. Calaminus' *Rudolphottocarus* (1594) is more like *Richardus tertius* in subject but only one-third as long. It deals with the Emperor Rudolf, founder of the Hapsburg dynasty, who overcame his rival Ottokar at the battle of the Marchfeld in 1278. The author, who gives elaborate source notes, attributes Ottokar's revolt to the ambition of his wife. Since there is no unity of time or place in the play, it is surprising to find that one of the other neo-classical rules is carefully observed. There are never more than three characters on stage at once. Two other plays have as their subject the attempts of impostors to acquire the ruling power in the state. These are the *Pseudofridericus* (1598) of Hildebrandus and the *Pseudo-Balduinus* (1639) of Chaneau. The first is concerned with Rudolf of Hapsburg's troubles with another rival who pretended to be the

deceased Frederick II; the second concerns an impostor in Flanders in the early thirteenth century.

F. H. Flayderus, in Tübingen, published two plays in 1625 whose romantic plots are set in the middle ages. *Imma portatrix* is the story of the love affair between Charlemagne's daughter and his secretary, Eginhard. It is a vigorous and lively play, full of suspense and conflicting emotions. From time to time comic relief is afforded by scenes between Charlemagne's cook and two rustics. *Ludovicus bigamus* is a tragicomedy of considerable power depicting the plight of a Thuringian count, already happily married when he set out on a crusade, who is obliged to contract a second marriage with the daughter of his Mohammedan captor in order to escape from prison. The seriousness of the emotional problem arises from the fact that he has a genuine affection for the girl as well as for his wife. The action takes place on his return to his own castle. The dilemma is only solved by the arrival of a papal dispensation allowing him the unusual privilege of having two wives at once. The characters are so well drawn that in spite of the unlikely plot we are led to accept them quite seriously and with real interest.

Besides Legge's *Richardus tertius*, the only other Latin play on English history by an Englishman was William Drury's *Aluredus* (1620) acted at the college at Douai. It presents some exciting events from Alfred's war with the Danes, which provide lots of running around, reversals of fortune, and comic scenes between a *miles gloriosus* and some peasants. St. Cuthbert, who speaks the prologue, also takes a hand in the action at several points.

More interesting to us from the historical point of view, though less so as drama, are the plays on contemporary or nearly contemporary events. Three of them were on the death of William of Orange, the earliest, Salius' *Nassovius* (1589), being only five years after his murder. It is a rather dreary Senecan production with prophetic dreams, a nurse as confidante for William's wife, and a chorus after each act. The *Princeps Auriacus* (1598) of Casparius is no better, but Heinsius produced a rather creditable tragedy in his *Auriacus* (1602). Although planned on the same Senecan lines as the other two and equipped with allegorical figures such as Inquisitio and the three Furies, it reaches a considerably higher level of poetry. Similar to this, both in kind and in quality, is the treatment of Coligny's death by the German Protestant Theodor Rhodius (1614). Another historical play given at Douai was Roulerius' *Stuarta* (1593) on the execution of Mary Queen of Scots only six years earlier. This starts

out in good Senecan fashion with the ghost of Henry VIII, but the place shifts from London to Fotheringay and considerably more than one day of time elapses. On the other hand the rule of three speakers is fairly well observed. Although Mary is killed off-stage the executioner is to show her head to the audience. It is a fairly vigorous piece of writing, with few long oratorical speeches to impede the action. Certainly it is much livelier than Montchrestien's French play on the same subject a few years later.

Two dramatists of the 1630s wrote on events almost immediately before the date of composition. These were Joannes Narssius, whose *Gustavus saucius* (1628) was based on his own personal experience of Gustavus' campaign in Poland in the previous year, and Nicholas Vernulaeus, who took for the subject of his *Fritlandus* (1637) the death of Wallenstein in 1634. Since the material of *Gustavus saucius* is the king's danger and his wounds in battle, seen principally through the fears of his queen, there can be little of the conflict of wills which is the essence of drama. The piece remains an interesting historical document because of its author's personal acquaintance with the people he is writing about. *Fritlandus* is quite a different matter. Here the subject itself, with its plots and counterplots, is full of genuine dramatic interest, and Vernulaeus makes the most of it. Unlike Schiller, he sees Wallenstein as an unmitigated traitor and rebel, and his play presents to us the righteous vengeance of heaven on a man whose unbridled ambition had made him a monster. The various historical characters are vigorously conceived, and the central theme is not weakened or disturbed by any love interest or comic interludes. Wallenstein is presented as still dubious, in spite of his overwhelming ambition, whether or not to break with the emperor to whom he has sworn allegiance and make himself the king of Bohemia. Lalagus urges him to do it; whereas an old man, as in Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*, speaks as the voice of his conscience against it. Finally three of his own officers turn against him, murdering him and his friends on stage in the last act. Except for the too simple conception of the characters as extremes of wickedness or virtue, this is an excellent play.

Fritlandus was one of the last plays of Vernulaeus' long career as a dramtist, which lasted from 1610 until 1637. All his plays are historical, and many of them are as good as this one. With a keen eye for subjects with real dramatic conflict he often chose historical crises which have been made famous by later dramatists. In addition to the fate of Wallenstein we find Joan of Arc, Henry VIII and Thomas More, and Henry II and

Thomas Becket among his choices. In spite of his insistence on using allegorical figures he never lets them obstruct the forceful development of his scenes. And his protagonists are not always so morally and psychologically simplified as Wallenstein. Henry VIII, for instance, is presented as a man whose intentions were good but whose mind was corrupted by the evil plotting of Anne Boleyn. In his scenes with Thomas More we are made fully aware of his liking for More and his genuine regret at having to destroy him.

After the middle of the seventeenth century there is little more to say about the Latin drama. By this time it had been given up in the English universities and in most of the European schools except those of the Jesuits. Jesuit drama continued to flourish during the rest of the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century, but although their productions became more and more magnificent no significant new dramatists arose and few of the texts were published. The Latin drama on the whole produced its most interesting and important plays in those countries where the vernacular drama was not at its best or in those periods—as in Italy and England—before vernacular drama had sufficiently developed to rival it. It was bound to lose its vitality when the language in which it was written ceased to be a natural choice for creative writers in academic communities.

Brown University LEICESTER BRADNER

LIST OF ORIGINAL NEO-LATIN PLAYS PRINTED BEFORE 1650

Preface

I wish to thank again all those who helped me in the preparation of my earlier list, printed in *PMLA* LVIII, 1943, and to express renewed obligations to Archer Taylor, Joseph E. Gillet, and William A. Jackson. I am particularly indebted to Professor Taylor for sending me lists of titles and for calling my attention to the importance of the bibliographies published in the seventeenth century. Professor R. P. Oliver of the University of Illinois, Professor R. Lebègue of the Sorbonne, and Dr. D. M. Rogers of the Bodleian Library have assisted me most generously in the later stages of my work. To the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes in Paris and to the Auskunftsabteilung of the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin I am greatly indebted for information about the location of books in their respective countries. Finally, to the keen eye of the Rev. H. H. Regnet, S.J., I owe the presence in this new list of an otherwise unknown volume of Latin plays in the library of St. Mary's College, Kansas. The Folger Shakespeare Library made possible a final checking of their rich collection of Latin plays by giving me a grant of financial aid to visit the library in 1955.

I have personally checked the catalogues of the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, the Bibliothèque Nationale, and in this country Yale, Harvard, and the Folger Shakespeare Library. For many European libraries I have had to depend on the locations given in Bahlmann, Bolte, and Goedeke. I have retained their references to German libraries even though the moving of some books and the destruction of others makes them of dubious value today. They at least show that these books were definitely known to be in a certain place fairly recently, as opposed to all other bibliographies, old or new, which give no locations. Wherever I have been unable to locate a copy at all I have given the source from which the title was drawn. Some Latin play titles turn out to be vernacular plays or vernacular translations of Latin plays which were never printed or are no longer extant. Such titles have, I hope, been entirely excluded from this list. I have also tried to exclude dialogues or pageants not really dramatic in character. This involves decisions based on personal judgment, and I cannot hope that all scholars will agree with my exclusions.

Since this is a list of Latin plays I have given the Latin form of the author's name except in a few cases where no such form appeared on the title page and the construction of one just for this list did not seem desirable. I have tried to give adequate cross-references from the vernacular in cases where the two names differed considerably.

Where more than three locations are given I have not always listed all known copies. If three or less are given, it is to be assumed that I know of no others. Editions printed after 1650 have been omitted, but modern reprints and scholarly editions are included.

The following reference works are referred to only by the author's name in the list:

Bahlmann. Paul Bahlmann, *Die lateinischen Dramen von Stilpho bis zur Mitte des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Münster, 1893).

Bolte. Johannes Bolte, *Die lateinischen Dramen Frankreichs aus dem sechzehnten Jahrhundert*, an essay contributed to the *Festschrift Johannes Vahlen* (Berlin, 1900).

Goedeke. Karl Goedeke, *Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung* (2d edition, Dresden, 1884–1951).

Lipenius. Martin Lipenius, *Bibliotheca realis philosophica* (Frankfort, 1682).

Library Symbols

ABM	Annmary Brown Memorial, Providence, R. I.
Arsen	Arsenal, Paris
BM	British Museum, London
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
Bres	Breslau
Brus	Brussels, Royal Library
BS	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek
C	Cambridge, University Library
Cal	University of California
Ch	University of Chicago
Corn	Cornell University
Dres	Dresden, Landesbibliothek
F	Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D. C.
Forb	Forbes Library, Northampton, Mass.
Gh	Ghent
Gött	Göttingen
H	Harvard University
Hag	The Hague, Royal Library
Hamb	Hamburg
Hann	Hannover
Hart	Hartford (Conn.) Seminary Foundation
Heid	Heidelberg
HC	College of the Holy Cross, Worcester, Mass.
Hn	Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, Cal.
HSA	Hispanic Society of America, New York, N. Y.
Ill	University of Illinois
Kön	Königsberg
Kop	Kopenhagen, Royal Library
L	Leipzig
LC	Library of Congress
Mad	Madrid, National Library
Marb	Marburg
Maz	Mazarine, Paris
Mi	University of Michigan
Mun	Munich, Staatsbibliothek
Münst	Münster
N	Newberry Library, Chicago, Ill.
NLS	National Library of Scotland
O	Oxford, Bodleian Library
PML	Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, N. Y.
PU	University of Pennsylvania
Rost	Rostock
StA	St. Andrews
Stett	Stettin
StG	St. Geneviève, Paris
Strasb	Strasbourg
Stutt	Stuttgart
TCC	Trinity College, Cambridge
Ups	Upsala
Ven	Venice, Bibliotheca Marciana
Vi	Vienna, National Library
Wolf	Wolfenbüttel
Würz	Würzburg
Y	Yale University
Zwi	Zwickau

List of Original Neo-Latin Plays Published before 1650

Alabasterus, Gulielmus. *Roxana.* London, 1632. BM, C, O, H, Y, F, N, Hn.

Albertus, Leo Baptista. *Philodoxios.* Lucca, 1588. BS, BN, H.

Andreae, Johannes Valentinus. *Turbo.* Helicone [Strasbourg?], 1616. BN, BS, Vi, Mun.

——Helicone, 1621. BM, BS, BN, H.

——Helicone, 1640. Marb, Gött.

Angelus, Joannes. *Jona propheta.* Hamburg, 1611. Zwi.

Anysius, Janus. *Protogonos.* Naples, 1536. BM, BS, F.

Artopoeus, Johannes. *Apotheosis Minervae.* Basel, 1551. Bern, Wolf.

Avianus, Johannes. *Adamus lapsus.* Leipzig, 1596. BM, Gött, Forb.

— *Miles vagus.* Halle, 1597. BM, BS.

— *Mendicus Lazarus.* Gera, 1607. Bres, Gött.

——Leipzig, 1608. Not found; from Goedeke.

Bachmannus, Christopher. *Melancholicus.* Leipzig, 1611. BS, Wolf, C.

Balduinus, Fridericus. *Lucretia.* Wittenberg, 1597. C.

Balticus, Martinus. *Adelphopolae sive Joseph.* Augsburg, 1556. Mun, BN.

— — Ulm, 1579. BS, BM, H.

— *Daniel.* [Augsburg, 1558.] BS, Mun, Wolf.

— *Christogonia.* Augsburg, 1588. Mun.

— *Sennacheribus.* Ulm, 1590. BS, BN.

Bar(p)tholomaeus, Nicholaus. *Christus xylonicus.* Paris, 1529. BN.

— — Paris, 1531. H, Y.

— — Ghent, 1533. Gött.

— — Cologne, 1537. BS.

— — Antwerp, 1537. Münst, F, Y.

— — Bois-le-Duc, 1537. Münst.

— — Paris, 1539. Gh, Hag, F.

— — Cologne, 1541. Münst.

Baxius, Nicasius. *Poemata* [containing *Theophilus*]. Antwerp, 1614. BM, BN.

Bartholomaeus Cimbriacus. *Comoedia,* Basel, n.d. Not found; from Lipenius.

Bartholomaeus Pannonus. *Gryllus.* [*ca.* 1530.] Vi.

Bebelius, Henricus. *Comoedia de optimo studio.* Pforzheim, 1504. BM, Gött, St. Gall, Mi.

— — Strasbourg, 1513. St. Gall.

Bencius, Franciscus. *Ergastus.* Rome, 1587. BM, BN, H, F, HC, Ch.

— *Carminum libri quatuor. Eiusdem Ergastus et Philotimus dramata.* Ingolstadt, 1592. HC.

— — Ingolstadt, 1599. BM.

— *Orationes et carmina. Ergastus et Philotimus.* Cologne, 1617. H.

Bettinus, Marius. *Rubenus.* Parma, 1614. BS, BM, O, H.

— *Ludovicus.* Parma, 1622. BN.

— — Paris, 1624. O.

Betuleius, Xystus (Sixt Birck). *Susanna.** Augsburg, 1537. H.

— — Zürich, 1538. BM, BN, H, Hart.

— — Cologne, 1541. LC, PU.

— — Augsburg, 1541. Y.

— — Berlin, 1893.

— *Sapientia Salomonis.* Marburg, 1591. BS.

— — New Haven, 1938.

Brechtanus, Levinus. *Euripus.* Louvain, 1549. BM, BS.

— — Louvain, 1550. BM.

— — Cologne, 1555. Mun.

— — Louvain, 1556. From I. K. Fletcher's cat. 162.

Brockhagius, Christopher. *Nymphocomus.* Rostock, 1595. BS, Rost.

Brooke, Samuel. *Melanthe.* Cambridge, 1615. BM, O, C, H.

— — New Haven, 1928.

Brulovius, Casparus. *Elias.* Strasbourg, 1613. Not found, but Göttingen has a copy of the German translation of the same date.

— *Andromeda.* Strasbourg, 1611. Würz.

— — Nuremberg, 1648. BM.

— *Chariclia.* Strasbourg, 1614. BS, BN.

— *Nebucadnezar.* Strasbourg, 1615. BN.

— *Julius Caesar.* Strasbourg, 1616. BS, F, H.

— — Halle, 1616. Stett.

— *Moses.* Strasbourg, 1621. Wolf, BN.

Bruni, Leonardo (Leonardus Aretinus). *Poliscena.* Schussenried, 1478. BM, BN, O.

— — Leipzig, 1500. BM.

— — Leipzig, 1503. H.

— — Leipzig, 1507. BM.

— — Cracow, 1509. BM.

— — Leipzig, 1510. BM.

— — Leipzig, 1514. BM.

— — Leipzig, 1515. F.

— — Leipzig, 1517. BM.

Buchananus, Georgius. *Jephthes.* Paris, 1554. BM, StA.

— — Paris, 1557. BM, BN, StA.

— — Paris, 1575. StA.

— — [Also in many editions of Buchanan's *Poemata.*]

— *Baptistes.* London, 1577. BM, O.

— — London, 1578. BM, BN, O, StA, H, Y, F.

— — Edinburgh, 1578. BM.

— — Frankfort, 1578. BM, H.

*First written in German and then translated into Latin, like other plays of the author, but the Latin version of *Susanna* is so changed as to be a new play.

——Frankfort, 1579. NLS, F.
——Paris, 1579. F.
—— [Also in many editions of the *Poemata*.]
Burmeisterus, Johannes. *Plauti renati sive sacri Mater Virgo*. Lüneberg, 1621. Accredited to BS by Goedeke, but not there now.
Calaminus, Georgius. *Helis*. Strasbourg, 1591. BS, Wolf.
— *Rudolphottocarus*. Strasbourg, 1594. BS, BN, H, F.
Calmus, Joannes. *Comoedia*. Paris, 1555. BS.
——Paris, 1558. Not found; from Bolte.
Campson, Peter. See Philicinus.
Cancer. See Hackett.
Carbonirosa, Johannes. *Tragicomoedia ex Daniele propheta*. Basel, 1535. Not found; from Bahlmann.
— *Comoedia de piis hominum meditationibus*. Basel, 1532. Not found; from I. Spach's *Nomenclator*.
Casparius, Casparus. *Princeps Auriacus*. Delft, 1598. BM, H.
——The Hague, 1599. BM, BN.
Caussinus, Nicholas. *Tragoediae sacrae* [containing *Solyma, Nabuchodnosor, Felicitas, Theodoricus, Hermengildus*]. Paris, 1620. BM, BN, Münst.
——Cologne, 1621. BS, Münst, Y.
——Paris, 1629. H, F.
Cellotius, Ludovicus. *Opera poetica* [containing *S. Adrianus martyr, Sapor admonitus, Chosroes, Reviviscentes*]. Paris, 1630. BM, BN, O.
Celtis, Conradus. *Ludus Dianae*. Nuremberg, 1501. BM, BS, Y, F, H.
Chaneau. See *Palaestra*.
Chelidonius, Benedictus. *Voluptatis cum virtute disceptatio*. Vienna, 1515. Rathsbibliothek Vienna, Mun.
Chilian (Kilian) of Mellerstadt. *Dorothea*. Leipzig, 1507. BM, F.
Chisius, Fabius (Fabio Chigi). *Philomathi musae juveniles in quibus Pompeius tragoedia*. Cologne, 1645. BM, O, H.
Cleophas, Matthias. See Jacobi.
Coberus, Tobias (T. Kober). *Hospitia sive κακοκερδόφαγος*. Helmstadt, 1593. BS.
——Helmstadt, 1594. Wolf, Y.
— *Palinurus*. Leipzig, 1593. Hann.
— *Anchises*. Görlitz, 1594. Not found; from Goedeke.
—— Leipzig, 1599. Not found; from Goedeke.
— *Sol, sive Marcus Curtius*. Leipzig, 1595. BM, BS.
Comoediæ ac tragoediae ex novo et vetere testamento [containing Betulius' *Susanna*, Crocus' *Joseph*, Bartholomaeus' *Christus xylonicus*, Gnaphaeus' *Acolastus*, Macropedius' *Andrisca* and *Bassarus*, Naogeorgus' *Pammachius*, Papeus' *De Samaritano*, and Zovitius' *Ovis perdita*]. Basel, 1541. BS, BM, Wolf, Y.
Corrarius, Gregorius. *Progne*. Venice, 1558. BM, BN, O, H, Y, Ch.
Couleius, Abrahamus. *Naufragium joculare*. London, 1638. BM, BN, O, C, H, F, Hn.
Cramerus, Daniel. *Areteugenia*. Wittenberg, 1592. BM, H.
——Nuremberg, 1596. O.
——Giessen, 1606. BN.
— *Plagium*. Wittenberg, 1593. BM, BN, BS.
——Wittenberg, 1594. F, Ch.
——Strasbourg, 1605. BM.
——Stettin, 1605. Wolf.
——Jena, 1610. Wolf.
Crocus, Cornelius. *Joseph*. Antwerp, 1536. O, H, Hart.
——Antwerp, 1537. BM.
——Strasbourg, 1537. BM.
——Cologne, 1537. BS, Gött, TCC.
——Paris, 1537. BM, H.
——Antwerp, 1538. O, F.
—— Augsburg, 1539. W. H. Schaab cat., 1954.
——Paris, 1541. Not found; from Bahlmann.
——Strasbourg, 1542. Not found; from Bahlmann.
——Paris, 1546. StG.
—— Antwerp, 1546. Not found; from Bahlmann.
—— Antwerp, 1548. Not found; from Bahlmann.
——Dortmund, 1549. Y, Ch.
—— Altdorf, 1595. Not found; from

Bahlmann.

Crucius, Johannes. *Theodoricus.* N.p., n.d. BN.

Crucius, Ludovicus. *Tragicae comicaeque actiones* [containing *Prodigus, Vita-humana, Sedecias, Manasses restitutus, Josephus, Polichronius*]. Lyons, 1605. BM, H, F.

Crusius, Balthasar. *Tobias.* Leipzig, 1585. F.

—— Leipzig, 1605. BM.

— *Exodus.* Leipzig, 1605. BM.

— *Paulus naufragus.* Altenburg, 1609. BM.

Crusius, Joannes Paulus. *Croesus.* Strasbourg, 1611. BS, Gött.

Dalanthus, Gerardus. *Dido.* Antwerp, 1559. Hag.

Dasupodius, Petrus. *Philargyrus.* Strasbourg, 1565. BS, Wolf, Y.

David, Johannes. *Occasio.* Antwerp, 1605. BS, Münst, F.

Dietherus, Andreas. *Josephus, Conversio Pauli, Vincula.* Basel, 1543. Not found; from Lipenius and Goedeke.

— *Josephus.* Augsburg, 1544. Wolf, Gh.

—— Basel, 1547. [In *Dramata sacra,* q.v.]

Donatus, Alexander. *Suevia tragoedia.* Cologne, 1630. Münst, O.

—— Antwerp, 1634. [In *Selectae . . . tragoediae,* q.v.]

Dramata sacra [containing Betulius' *Sapientia Salomonis* and other plays translated from German originals, Crocus' *Joseph,* Dietherus' *Josephus,* Naogeorgus' *Hamanus,* Lorichius' *Jobus,* Zieglerus' *Heli, Samson, Nomothesia, Immolatio Isaaci, Protoplastus,* and Zovitius' *Ruth*]. Basel, 1547. BS, C, H, Y, F.

Druraeus, Gulielmus. *Aluredus* [containing also *Mors*]. Douai, 1620. BM, H, Y.

— *Dramatica poemata* [containing *Aluredus, Mors, Reparatus*]. Douai, 1628. BM, O, H, Y, F.

—— Douai, 1641. BM, O, F.

—— Antwerp, 1641. H.

Eucharius, Eligius (E. Houckaert). *Griseldis.* Antwerp, 1519. Brus, Gh, Louv.

Eutrachelius, Franciscus (F. Goethals). *Edessa sive Hester.* Ghent, 1549. Gh, Ch.

— *Soter gloriosus.* Antwerp, 1563. Wolf.

—— Ghent, 1563. H.

Evrardus, Bernardus. *Salomon.* Douai, 1564. BN.

Fabricius, Andreas. *Religio patiens.* Cologne, 1566. Not found; from *Catalogue des livres de P.-P.-C. Lammens* (Ghent, 1839).

— *Evangelicus fluctuans.* Cologne, 1569. BN.

— *Samson.* Cologne, 1579. Mainz.

— *Jereboam rebellans.* Ingolstadt, 1585. BS, St. John's, Camb.

Flayderus, Fridericus. *Imma portatrix.* Tübingen, 1625. BN.

— *Ludovicus bigamus.* Tübingen, 1625. BN.

— *Argenis.* Tübingen, 1626. Wolf.

— *Ausgewählte Werke* [containing all three plays]. Leipzig, 1925.

Florus, Hercules. *Galathea et Zaphira* [two distinct plays]. [Barcelona, 1502?] Bib. Colombina Seville.

Forsett, Edward. See Wingfield.

Forsterus, Joannes. *Theatron christianae juventutis* [containing *Ursi ultores Elisaei* and *Samuel princeps*]. Leipzig, 1604. Dresden.

— *Theatrum juventutis in quo exhibentur tres tragoediae itemque tres comoediae sacrae.* Leipzig, 1609. Not found; from Lipenius.

Foxius, Joannes. *Christus triumphans.* Basel, 1556. BM, O, H.

—— Nuremberg, 1590. BN, F.

Frachaeus, Jacobus. *Comoedia.* Lyons, 1550. BM.

Frischlinus, Nicodemus. *Rebecca.* Frankfort, 1576. H, F.

— *Susanna.* Tübingen, 1578. BM, O.

—— Tübingen, 1583. BS.

— *Hildegardis magna.* Tübingen, 1578. Wolf.

—— Tübingen, 1579. O, Corn.

—— Strasbourg, 1585. BM.

— *Priscianus vapulans.* Strasbourg, 1580. BS, BM, BN, O, H, Corn.

— *Dido.* Tübingen, 1581. BM, F.

— *Venus.* Tübingen, 1584. Not found; from Goedeke.

— *Julius redivivus.* Strasbourg, 1585. BM, O.

——Berlin, 1912.
— *Helvetio-Germani.* Strasbourg, 1589. Gött, PU.
——Helmstadt, 1589. BM, BS.
— *Phasma.* [Wittenberg?] 1592. BM, BS, H, Y, F, Cal.
——Jaczygy, 1592. O, H.
——Jaczygy, 1598. BN, O, H.
——Jaczygy, 1612. H.
——Jaczygy, 1619. O.
— *Operum poeticorum pars scenica.* Strasbourg, 1587. Many libraries, which often have later edd. as well.
Fullonius, G. See Gnaphaeus.
Gagerus, Gulielmus. *Meleager.* Oxford, 1592. BM, O, Y.
— *Ulysses redux.* Oxford, 1592. O, York, Hn.
Gallus, Aegidius. *Comoediae* [containing *Bophilaria* and *Annularia*]. Rome, 1505. BM, BN.
Gamerius, Hannardus. *Pornius.* Munich, 1566. F.
Gassarus, Johannes. *Pomona.* Chur, 1598. Dresden.
Gazaeus, Gulielmus. *Magdalis.* Douai, 1589. Arsen, Brus.
— *Lazarus.* Nuremberg, 1589. Not found; from Goedeke.
Giattinus, Joannes Baptista. *Leo philosophus.* Rome, 1646. Münst.
Gnaphaeus, Gulielmus (G. Fullonius, W. van de Volder). *Acolastus.* Antwerp, 1529. BM, Kön, Ups.
— — Cologne, 1530. Kop, Bern, Munich Univ.
——Paris, 1530. BS.
——Cologne, 1532. Mun, Bern.
—— Cologne, 1533. Münst, Munich Univ.
——Antwerp, 1533. Bremen.
——Leipzig, 1534. Mun, Strasb.
——Paris, 1534. Y.
——Basel, 1534. Zür.
——Antwerp, 1535. Gh, O.
——Cologne, 1535. Zwi.
——Cologne, 1536. Kop, F.
——Leipzig, 1536. BS, Kön, Rost.
——Leipzig, 1538. Mun, Jena.
——Paris, 1539. Leningrad.
——Antwerp, 1540. Munich Univ.
——Cologne, 1540. O, Corn.
——London, 1540. O, H.
——Paris, 1542. Strasb.
——Leipzig, 1543. Gött, Ups.
——Paris, 1546. Strasb.
——Paris, 1554. Gött, Gh, O, H.
——Paris, 1556. Strasb.
——Paris, 1558. F.
——Cologne, 1561. Y.
——Antwerp, 1562. Gh.
——Cologne, 1563. BS.
——Antwerp, 1568. Gh.
——Cologne, 1569. Prag, Stutt, Würz.
——Antwerp, 1576. F.
——Cologne, 1577. Ups, Vi, Würz.
——Berlin, 1912.
——London, 1937.
— *Morosophus.* Danzig, 1541. BM.
——N.p., 1559. BS.
— *Hypocrisis.* Basel, 1544. BS, Wolf.
——Wittenberg, 1564. BS.
——Nuremberg, 1587. Wolf.
——Heidelberg, 1615. Not found; from Lipenius.
Godranus, Carolus. *Susanna.* Dijon, 1571. BN.
Goethals, F. See Eutrachelius.
Gody, Simplicianus. *Humbertus tragoedia.* Paris, 1632. BM, BN, Y.
Gravius, Martinus. *Tragoedia.* Nuremberg, 1615. Not found; from Lipenius.
Grimaldus, Nicholas. *Christus redivivus.* Cologne, 1543. BS, Wolf, Heid, Corn.
——Augsburg, 1556. Mun.
——New Haven, 1925.
— *Archipropheta.* Cologne, 1548. BM, Gött, Wolf, F, Jesus Coll. Oxford.
——London, 1906.
——New Haven, 1925.
Grotius, Hugo. *Sacra* [containing *Adamus exul*]. The Hague, 1601. BM, BN, O, H.
— *Christus patiens.* Leyden, 1608. O.
——Munich, 1627. Ch.
——Leyden, 1628. Gollancz sale.
——Amsterdam, 1635. BM, F.
— *Sophompaneas.* Amsterdam, 1635. O, F, H (contains also *Christus patiens*), PU.
— *Poemata* [containing *Christus patiens*]. Leyden, 1637.

—— [containing also *Sophompaneas*]. Leyden, 1639.
—— [containing also *Sophompaneas*]. London, 1639.
Gruenpeckius, Joseph. *Comedie utilissime.* Augsburg, 1497. BM, BN, BS, LC, PML.
Gualfreducius, Bandinus. *Sigericus tragoedia.* Rome, 1627. Maz.
Gualtherus, Rodolphus (R. Walther). *Nabal.* [Zürich, 1550?] BM, Wolf, Hart.
—— Strasbourg, 1562. BS, H.
Guinisius, Vincentius. *Poesis heroica* [containing *Ignatius in Monte Serrato*]. Moret, 1637. Münst, StG, C, H, Princeton.
Guzingerus, Otto. *Tellus.* Salzburg, 1648. BS.
Gwinne, Matthew. *Nero.* London, 1603. BM, BN, O, H, F, Hn.
—— London, 1638. TCC, Y, Hn.
—— London, 1639. F.
— *Vertumnus.* London, 1607. BM, BN, O, C, H, Y, F, Hn.
Hackett, John. *Loiola* [containing also T. Vincent's *Paria* and two anonymous plays, *Stoicus vapulans* and *Cancer*]. London, 1648. BM (*Loiola* only), O, C, H, Y, F, N, Hn.
Harmonius, Joannes. *Stephanium.* Venice, [1505?]. BM, H.
—— Vienna, 1515. Neuburg.
—— Vienna, 1517. Winterthur.
Hasenbergius, Johannes. *Ludus ludentem Luderum ludens.* Leipzig, 1530. BM, O, Williams Coll.
—— Landshut, 1531. Not found; from Bahlmann.
—— N.p., 1531. H.
Hausted, Peter. *Senile odium.* Cambridge, 1633. BM, O, C, H, Y, F, Mi, Hn.
—— Bloomington, Ind., 1949.
Hawkesworth, Walter. *Labyrinthus.* London, 1636. BM, O, C, Y, F, Hn.
Hayneccius, Martinus. *Almansor.* Leipzig, 1578. BM, BN.
—— Leipzig, 1891.
— *Hansoframea.* Leipzig, 1581. Gött, Wolf, Y.
—— Leipzig, 1604. Not found; from Lipenius.
—— Halle, 1882.
Hebenstreit, Joannes Baptista. *Daniel.* Ulm, 1634. Wolf, H.
Hegatus, Gulielmus. *Gallia victrix.* Poitiers, 1598. BM, H.
Hegendorphinus, Christopher. *Comoedia* [i.e., *De duobus adolescentibus*]. Leipzig, 1520. BM, BS, Gött.
— *Comoedia de sene amatore.* Leipzig, 1520. BS.
— *Comedie due* [containing the preceding]. Leipzig, 1521. BN, Gött.
— *Ludi* [containing the two plays above]. Leipzig, 1522. BS.
—— Cracow, 1525. Posen.
Heinsius, Daniel. *Auriacus.* Leyden, 1602. BM, BN, BS, O, Ch.
— *Herodes.* Leyden, 1632. BM, BN, O, H, Y.
—— Leyden, 1640. [In *Poemata.*]
—— London, 1649. [In *Poemata.*]
—— Amsterdam, 1649. [In *Poemata.*]
Hildebrandus, Johannes. *Pseudofridericus.* Tübingen, 1598. BS.
—— Frankfurt & Leipzig, 1739. [In W. F. von Pistorius' *Amoenitates historico-juridicae.*]
Hildesheimius, Franciscus. *Neanica* [containing *Religio tragoedia*]. Berlin, 1586. BN.
— *Vita comoedia.* Leipzig, 1604. BS.
— *Vita comoedia et religio.* Halle, 1614. Gött.
Hiltprandus, Michael. *Ecclesia militans.* Dilingen, 1573. BS, Münst, Y.
Hirtzwigius, Henricus. *Balthasar.* Strasbourg, 1609. Gött.
—— Speier, 1615. Wolf, O.
—— Halle, 1616. Wolf.
— *Lutherus.* Frankfort, 1617. BM, BN, O.
—— Wittenberg, 1618. Not found; from Lipenius.
— *Jesulus.* Speier, 1613, BS, Wolf.
—— Marburg, 1628. BN.
Hoius, Andreas. *Matthaeus et Machabaeus.* Douai, 1587. Bres, Gh, Heid.
—— Douai, 1595. Not found; from Bolte.
Holonius, Gregorius. *Catharina.* Antwerp, 1556. BN, BS, F, Ch.
— *Laurentias.* Antwerp, 1556. BN, BS, F, Ch.

— *Lambertias*. Antwerp, 1556. BN, H, F, Ch, Brown Univ.

Honerdius, Rochus. *Thamara*. Leyden, 1611. BM, Y, Ch.

Hospeinius, Michael. *Eques Troianus*. Strasbourg, 1590. BS, Wolf.

— *Dido*. Strasbourg, 1591. Wolf, C.

Houckaert, E. See Eucharius.

Houte, Pieter van der. See Ligneus.

Houthemius, Libertus. *Theatrum humanae vitae*. Liège, 1574. F.

— *Gedeon*. Liège, 1575. Not found; from Goedeke.

Hoyerus, Michael. *Theatrum castitatis, sive Susanna et Camma*. Tournai, 1631. Not found; from *Catalogue des livres d'E. B. Courtois* (Paris, 1819).

— *Tragoediae* [containing *Susanna, Camma, Theodora*]. Antwerp, 1641. BS, StG, H.

Hugolinus Parmensis. See Pisanus.

Hunnius, Aegidius. *Josephus, comoediae duae*. Marburg, 1584. Munich Univ., Strasb.

— — Marburg, 1898.

— *Comediarum seu dramatum sacrorum libellus* [two plays on Joseph and one on Ruth]. Frankfort, 1586. Mun, Heid, Erfurt.

— *Josephus comoedia sacra*. Strasbourg, 1597. BM, BS, Marb, Strasb, Y.

— *Josephus, comoediae duae; Rutha Moabitica*. Halle, 1614. BS, Leipzig, Zwi.

Huttenius, Leonardus. *Bellum grammaticale*. London, 1635. BM, O, C, H, F.

Jacobi, Matthias Cleophas. *Mariamne*. Speier, 1618. Hann.

Jacomotus, Joannes. *Agrippa ecclesiomastrix*. Geneva, 1597. BM, O.

— *Ehud*. Lyons, 1601. BM, O.

Jansenius, Gabrielus. *Tragicomoediae sacrae quinque* [containing *Monomachia Davidis cum Goliath, Nabal, Iudicium Salomonis, Caecus a nativitate, S. Martinus*, and three one-act comedies]. Ghent, 1600. BN.

Junius, Samuel. *Lucretia*. Nuremberg, 1608. F.

Kerckmeisterus, Joannes. *Codrus*. Münster, 1485. Münst, Dortmund.

Ketzel, Wolfgang. *Lapsus et reparatio hominis*. Schmalkalden, 1613. Marb.

Kielmannus, Henricus. *Venus*. Stettin, 1613. Wolf.

Kilian von Mellerstadt. See Chilian.

Kilius, Tobias. *Davidis exilium*. Erfurt, 1620. Marb.

Kirchmeyer, Thomas. See Naogeorgus.

Kirchnerus, Hermannus. *Coriolanus*. Marburg, 1599. Wolf.

— — Strasbourg, 1608. Not found; from Lipenius.

Kitscherus, Joannes. *Tragicomoedia de Iherosolomitana profectione principis Pomeraniae*. Leipzig, 1501. H.

— — Stettin, 1594. Wolf.

Knaustus, Henricus. *Agapetus scholasticus*. N.p., 1562. BS.

— — Cologne, 1600. BS.

— *Dido*. Frankfort, 1566. Wolf, BN, C, H.

— *Pecuparumpius*. N.p., 1574. BS, Wolf.

Knuyt van Sluyterhoven, Hermann. *Scornetta*. Bologna, 1497. L, Ven, Bologna, Y.

— — Berlin, 1887–88. [In *Zts. für vergl. Litteraturgeschichte und Renaissance Litteratur* n.F. 1.]

Kober, Tobias. See Coberus.

Laen, van der. See *Palaestra*.

Langevelt, Georg van. See Macropedius.

Lasdorpius, Fridericus. *Turnus tragoedia*. Helmstadt, 1596. Not found; from Goedeke.

Laurimannus, Cornelius. *Exodus*. Louvain, 1562. BM.

— *Esther*. Louvain, 1563. BM.

— — Strasbourg, 1596. Wolf, BM, Y.

— *Miles christianus*. Antwerp, 1565. BM, F.

Lemnius, Simon. *Monachopornomachia*. N.p., [c. 1538]. Vi.

— — Brussels, 1866.

— — Munich, 1919.

Leoninus, Albertus. *Comoedia de reducenda pace*. Basel, 1589. BS.

Libenus, Jacobus. *Tragoedia in sacram historiam Josephi*. Antwerp, 1639. O, H.

Ligneus, Petrus (P. van den Houte). *Dido*. Antwerp, 1559. BN, O.

Locherus, Jacobus. *Historia de rege Franciae*. Freiburg, 1495. Not found; Gol-

lancz sale, Hain 10161.
— *Tragoedia de Thurcis et Suldano.* Strasbourg, 1497. BM, BN, H, Y, F, Mi, Hn.
— *Spectaculum more tragicum effigiatum.* Ingolstadt, 1502. BM, BN, BS, H, F.
— *Judicium Paridis.* Ingolstadt, 1502. BM, H, F.
— — Cracow, 1522. Not found; from Bahlmann.
— *De sene amatore.* N.p., [c. 1505]. Wolf, Munich Univ., F.
— *De Lazaro mendico.* N.p., 1510. Münst, StG, PU.
Loots, Johannes Christopher. *Pompeius magnus.* Ghent, 1635. BN, F, Ch.
— *Theresae triumphus.* Mechlin, 1639. F, Ch.
Lorichius, Johannes. *Jobus.* Marburg, 1543. BM.
— — Marburg, 1547. Bern.
— — Marburg, 1897.
Loschius, Antonius (A. Luschus). *Achilleis.* Venice, 1636. [In Mussatus' *Opera*, q.v.]
Lucienbergus, Joannes. *Aeneis tragicomoedia.* Frankfort, 1576. BM, BN, F.
Ludwicus, Balthasar. *Comoedia.* Leipzig, 1507. BM.
Lummenaeus à Marca, Jacobus Cornelius. *Jephtha.* Antwerp, 1604. Not found; from Lipenius.
— *Bustum Sodomae.* Cologne, n.d. Not found; from Lipenius.
— *Opera* [containing *Jephtha*, *Carcer Babylonicus*, *Dives epulo*]. Louvain, 1613. C.
— *Amnon.* Ghent, 1617. BM, C.
— *Musae lacrymantes* [containing *Bustum Sodomae*, *Abimelech*, *Jephtha*, *Samson*, *Saul*, *Amnon*, *Sedecias*]. Douai, 1628. BS.
Luschus, Antonius. See Loschius.
Macropedius, Georgius (G. van Langevelt). *Comicarum fabularum duae* [*Rebelles*, *Aluta*]. Bois-le-duc, 1535. O.
— — Bois-le-duc, 1537. H.
— — Cologne, 1539. BN.
— — Cologne, 1540. BM, BN, O, Y.
— — Berlin, 1897.
— *Petriscus.* Bois-le-duc, 1536. BM, BS, H.
— — Cologne, 1540. BM, BN.
— — Bois-le-duc, 1541. H.
— *Andrisca.* Bois-le-duc, 1537. BM.
— — Bois-le-duc, 1538. O, H.
— — Cologne, 1539. BN, O.
— *Asotus.* Bois-le-duc, 1537. BM, H.
— — Cologne, 1540. F.
— — Antwerp, 1540. BM.
— *Hecastus.* Cologne, 1539. H, F.
— — Antwerp, 1539. BM, H.
— — Antwerp, 1541. O.
— — Frankfurt, 1571. Y.
— — Leipzig, 1927.
— *Bassarus.* Utrecht, 1540. BM, BS.
— — Antwerp, 1541. BN, H, Y, F.
— *Lazarus.* Utrecht 1541. BM, O, Y.
— — Bois-le-duc, 1541. H.
— — Cologne, 1557. BM, PU.
— — Cologne, 1574. F.
— — Nuremberg, 1589. BN.
— *Joseph.* Antwerp, 1544. BM, H.
— *Omnes fabulae comicae* [containing *Adamus* and *Hypomene* in addition to the plays above]. Utrecht, 1552–53. BM, Y, N. H.
— *Jesus scholasticus.* Utrecht, 1556. Gött.
Madirus, Arnoldus. *Pisander bombylius.* Antwerp, 1540. BS.
— — Bois-le-duc, 1541. H.
— — Antwerp, 1546. BM, F.
Malapertius, Carolus *Sedecias.* Antwerp, 1616. StG, HC.
— — Cologne, 1620. HC.
— — Douai, 1624. BM.
— — Antwerp, 1616. [In *Poemata.*]
— — Dilingen, 1622. [In *Poemata.*]
— — Antwerp, 1634. [In *Poemata.*]
— — Antwerp, 1634. [In *Selectae . . . tragoediae*, q.v.]
Maldonatus, Joannes. *Hispaniola.* Valladolid, 1525. Not found.
— — Burgos, 1535. Madrid, J. E. Gillet.
Martiranus, Coriolanus. *Tragoediae VIII, comoediae II* [all except one, *Christus*, translated from Greek plays]. Naples, 1556. BM, O, H, Y, F.
— — Naples, 1563. BN.
Medius, Thomas. *Epirota.* Venice, 1483. BM, Hn, Bibl. Colombina.
— — Oppenheim, 1516. BM, BS, F.
— — Leipzig, 1517. Not found; from Bahlmann.

——Mainz, 1547. BN.
Meierus, Bernardus. *Lampades comoedia sacra.* Hamburg, 1621. Kop.
Meierus, Justus. *Daniel.* Strasbourg, [c. 1600]. Hann, Y.
—— Augsburg, 1609. Not found; from Lipenius.
Mentus, Johannes. *Tobias.* Tübingen, 1586. Kop.
Micraellius, Joannes. *Ἐγκαίνια.* Stettin, 1629. Greifswald Univ.
— *Pomeris tragico-comoedia.* N.p., 1631. Not found; from *Cat. Bibl. Thottianae* IV, 2186.
— *Parthenia Pomeridis continuatio.* N.p., 1632. Not found; *ibid.*
— *Michael adversus Belialem.* Stettin, [1647]. Wolf.
Micyllus, Jacobus (J. Moltzer). *Apelles Aegyptus.* Nuremberg, 1583. BM, F.
——Frankfort, 1589. BS, Münst.
Mollerus, Bernardus. *Γεωργιοδρακοντομαχία.* Münster, 1597. BM, O.
—*Ποιμανδροσατανομαχία.* Münster, 1597. BM, BS, O.
Moltzer, J. See Micyllus.
Morellus, Federicus. *Alexander Severus.* Paris, 1600. BM, BN, Y, F.
Morlinus, Hieronimus. *Novellae* [containing a *Comoedia*]. Naples, 1520. BN.
——Paris, 1799. H, Y.
Muretus, Marcus Antonius. *Juvenilia.* Paris, 1552. BN, H, Y, F, Cal.
——Paris, 1553. BM, F, Ch.
——Paris, 1579. Ups, Lucerne.
——Bardi, 1590. Dres, Strasb, Hart.
——Rostock, 1591. Hag, Leyd, Strasb.
——Helmstadt, 1623. Bremen.
Mussatus, Albertinus. *Opera* [containing *Ecerinis* and Loschius' *Achilleis*]. Venice, 1635. O.
——Venice, 1636. BM, BN, F.
Mussonius, Petrus. *Tragoediae* [containing *Pompeius, Croesus, Cyrus, Darius*]. La Flèche, 1621. BM, BN, H, F.
Nabuchodnosor. Munich, 1635. Aarau.
Naogeorgus, Thomas (T. Kirchmeyer). *Pammachius.* Wittenberg, 1538. BN, BM, H, Y, F.
——Augsburg, 1539. Wolf, Gött.
——Augsburg, 1639. BM, O.
——Berlin, 1891.
— *Mercator.* Augsburg, 1540. BM, BN, F.
——N.p., 1560. Wolf, PU.
——N.p., 1590. Nuremberg.
——N.p., n.d. Prag.
——Leipzig, 1927.
—*Incendia sive Pyrgopolinices.* Wittenberg, 1541. BM, BN, H, F, Corn.
— *Hamanus.* Leipzig, 1543. BM, BN, PU.
— *Hieremias.* Basel, 1551. Wolf, BM, BN, H, F, PU.
——Strasbourg, 1603. BS.
—*Judas Iscariotes.* N.p., [1552]. BS, Wolf, BM, H, F, Mi.
Narssius, Joannes. *Gustavus saucius.* Kopenhagen, 1628. BS, Hamb, Y.
——Frankfort, 1633. BM, Hart.
——Leipzig, 1933.
Nenningius, Christopher. *Samarites.* Nuremberg, 1595. Not found; from Goedeke.
Palaestra scholae Mechlinensis [containing Pirouel's *Divus Canutus, Divus Alexander,* and *Pastorum colloquia,* van der Laen's *Elko abbas,* and Chaneau's *Pseudo-Balduinus*]. Antwerp, 1639. BM.
Panthaleon, Henricus. *Philargyrus, comoedia de Zachaeo.* Basel, 1546. Mun, O.
Pape, Ambrosius. *Nativitas Christi.* Magdeburg, 1582. Marb.
— *Christiani hominis sors et fortuna.* Magdeburg, 1612. Formerly at BS, but cannot now be located.
Papeus, Petrus. *Samarites.* Antwerp, 1539. BM, BS.
——Cologne, 1539. BS, H, F.
——Cologne, 1540. Y.
——Toledo, 1542. Mad, H.
——Erfurt, 1614. Gött.
Parmensis, Hugolinus. See Pisanus.
Paterfamilias evangelicus. Augsburg, 1625. BS.
Petavius, Dionysius. *Carthaginenses.* La Flèche, 1614. BN.
——La Flèche, 1616. StG.
— *Opera poetica* [containing *Carthaginenses, Sisera, Usthazanes*]. Paris, 1620. Münst.
——Paris, 1624. BN.
——Paris, 1642. BM, BN, Johns Hopkins Univ.

— *Sisaras*. Antwerp, 1634. [In *Selectae . . . tragoediae*, q.v.]

Petrus, Galfredus. *De vita S. Nicolai comoedia*. London, [c. 1510]. BM, Lambeth.

Pharetratus, Michael. *Ieremias*. Jena, [1598]. Gött.

Philicinus, Petrus (P. Campson). *Magdalena*. Antwerp, 1544. BS, Wolf, Brus.

— — Antwerp, 1546. Brus, Gh, BN, F.

— *Dialogus de Isaaci immolatione*. Antwerp, 1544. Gh.

— — Antwerp, 1546. BM, BN.

— *Esther*. Antwerp, 1563. BN, Brus, Louvain, All Souls Oxford.

Philomathus. See Chisius, F.

Philymnus, Thilonius. *Teratologia*. Wittenberg, 1509. Kop.

Phoenix comoedia. Grossenglogau, 1623. Not found.

Pirouel, Frederic. See *Palaestra*.

Pisanus, Hugolinus (H. Parmensis). *Philogenia*. [Tolosa? c. 1476.] BN, Hn.

Placentius, Joannes Leo. *Clericus eques; Lucianus aulicus*. Antwerp, 1535. Hag, O, C, F.

— *Susanna*. Antwerp, 1532. BS.

— — Antwerp, 1534. O, H, F.

— — Antwerp, 1536. BM.

Pontanus, Jacobus (J. Spanmueller). *Poeticorum institutorum libri tres* [containing, according to Bahlmann, *Immolatio Isaaci* and *Stratocles*]. Ingolstadt, 1594. Münst.

— *Dramata sacra*. Frankfort, 1615. Not found; from Lipenius.

Porterius, Joannes. *Pentaegle*. Le Mans, 1619. BN, F.

— *Athamantis furor*. Le Mans, 1621. BN, F.

— *Arsinoe*. Le Mans, 1624. BN, F.

— *Tennes*. Le Mans, 1624. BN, F.

Prasinus, Johannes. *Philaemus*. Vienna, 1548. Wolf, Vienna Univ.

Prellaeus, Athenaeus. *Polyetes*. Paris, 1644. Not found; from Lipenius.

Quintianus Stoa, Joannes Franciscus. *Theoandrathanatos*. Milan, 1508. BM.

— — Paris, 1514. [In *Christiana opera*.] BS, BN, BM, F.

— — Lyons, 1515. Gött.

— — Ghent, 1518. F.

— — Basel, 1542. [In *Christianae poeseos opuscula*.] BM, O.

— *Theocrisis de extremo judicio*. Paris, 1514. [In *Christiana opera*.] BS, BN, BM, F.

Randolph, Thomas. *Cornelianum dolium*. London, 1638. BM, O, C, H, Y, F, Hn.

Remaclus Arduenna. *Palamedes*. Paris, [c. 1512]. BM, F, Bibl. Colombina.

— — London, [c. 1512]. Hn.

Reuchlinus, Johannes. *Scenica progymnasmata*. Basel, 1498. BM, BN, BS.

— — Pforzheim, [1503?]. LC.

— — Pforzheim, 1508. BM, F.

— — Pforzheim, 1509. H.

— — Hagenau, 1509. O.

— — Tübingen, 1511. N.

— — Tübingen, 1512. F.

— — Pforzheim, 1512. BM.

— — Pforzheim, 1513. BM.

— — Pforzheim, 1514. BM.

— — Pforzheim, 1515. BM.

— — Leipzig, 1519. Y.

— — Pforzheim, 1534. BM.

— *Sergius*. Pforzheim, 1507. BM, H, Y, F.

— — Pforzheim, 1508. BM, O, Mi.

— — Tübingen, 1513. BM, BN, H.

— *Comoediae duae*. Cologne, 1528. O.

— — Cologne, 1537. Ch.

— — Cologne, 1540. BN.

Rhodius, Theodorus. *Comoediae sacrae duae* [containing *Debora, Thesaurus, Simson*]. Heidelberg, 1600. Hag, Dresden.

— *Agag*. N.p., 1607. Kop.

— *Dramata sacra*. Frankfort, 1615. Mun.

— — Strasbourg, 1625. Gött.

— *Colignius*. Oppenheim, 1614. BS, Bonn.

— — Frankfort, 1615. Not found; from Goedeke.

— — Leipzig, 1933.

— *Josephus*. Darmstadt, 1619. Hamb.

Rochotius, Andreas. *Joseph*. Prague, 1608. Kop.

Rodriguez, Emmanuel. *Tragoediae* [containing *Rodericus fatalis, Herodes saeviens*]. Antwerp, 1645. Not found; from Lipenius.

— — Antwerp, 1647. Not found; from Lipenius.

Roilletus, Claudius. *Varia poemata* [containing *Philanira, Petrus, Aman, Catharina*]. Paris, 1556. Mun, BM, BN, F.

Rosefeldus, Jacobus. *Chamus.* Jena, 1599. Not found; from Goedeke.

— *Moschus.* Jena, 1599. Not found; from Goedeke.

— *Carabonna.* Jena, 1600. Not found; from Goedeke.

Roulerius, Adrianus. *Stuarta tragoedia.* Douai, 1593. Wolf, Douai.

— — Berlin, 1906.

Ruggle, George. *Ignoramus.* London, 1630. BM, BN, O, C, H, Y, F, Mi, Hn.

— — London, 1631. F.

Salis, Caesarius de. *Thrasonum fastus.* Halle, 1624. Braunschweig.

Salius, Panagius. *Varia poemata* [containing *Nassovius*]. Paris, 1589. BM.

Sanctius, Leo. *Somniator sive Josef.* Rome, 1648. Not found.

Sapidus, Johannes. *Anabion sive Lazarus redivivus.* Cologne, 1539. H.

— — Antwerp, 1540. F.

— — Strasbourg, 1540. Wolf, O, Y.

— — Cologne, 1541. BM, Ch.

— — Augsburg, 1565. Mun.

Saurius, Andreas. *Conflagratio Sodomae.* Strasbourg, 1607. BS, BM.

— — *Agapetus.* Frankfort, 1591. Not found; from Goedeke.

Schmechelius, Martinus. *Hercules academicus.* [Stettin, 1621.] Wolf.

Schöpperus, Jacobus. *Voluptatis ac virtutis pugna.* Cologne, 1546. BS, Wolf, Mun, C, F.

— — Nuremberg, 1590. H.

— *Ectrachelistis sive decollatus Ioannes.* Cologne, 1546. BM, F.

— — Strasbourg, 1565. Y, F.

— *Monomachia Davidis et Goliae.* Dortmund, 1550. BS, Wolf.

— *Abrahamus tentatus.* Antwerp, 1552. H.

— — Cologne, 1561. BS.

— — Cologne, 1564. Wolf, BM.

— *Comoediae et tragoediae sacrae.* Dortmund, 1552. Mun.

— — Cologne, 1562. Mun, Wolf.

— — Cologne, 1564. Prag.

— *Euphemus.* Antwerp, 1553. BS, H, F, All Souls Oxford

— *Ovis perdita; Euphemus.* Basel, 1553. C, H, F.

Scholvinus, Johannes. *Aethiopissa.* Frankfort, 1608. Wolf.

Schonaeus, Cornelius. *Saulus conversus.* Antwerp, 1571. BS.

— — Antwerp, 1581. H, Ill.

— *Tobaeus.* Antwerp, 1580. BS, H.

— — Strasbourg, 1583. Y.

— *Naaman.* Antwerp, 1581. H.

— *Terentius christianus sive comoediae duae* [containing *Tobaeus, Iuditha, Pseudostratiotes*]. London, 1592. BM.

— — Cambridge, 1632. O.

— — Cambridge, 1635. BM, Y, F.

— *Terentius christianus* [containing *Naaman, Tobaeus, Nehemias, Saulus*]. Cologne, 1592. BS, BM, H.

— *Terentius christianus sive sacrae comoediae sex* [containing *Tobaeus, Nehemias, Saulus, Naaman, Iosephus, Iuditha, Pseudostratiotes*]. Haarlem, 1592. H.

— — [Heidelberg,] 1594. H.

— — Amsterdam, 1599. BS.

— *Terentius christianus* [containing, in addition to the 4 plays in the Cologne ed. of 1592, *Iosephus, Iuditha*]. Cologne, 1595. F.

— — Cologne, 1596. F.

— — Antwerp, 1598. H.

— — Wittenberg, 1599. F.

— *Comoediarum pars altera* [containing *Susanna, Daniel, Triumphus Christi, Pseudotratiotes, Cunae, Vitulus*]. Amsterdam, 1599. H, F.

— *Terentius christianus* [in 3 parts, containing, besides all the plays named above, *Typhlus, Ananias, Dyscoli, Baptistes, Pentecoste*]. Cologne, 1602–03–04. O, H.

— — Cologne, 1620. O.

— — Amsterdam, 1646. O, F, Ch.

— *Fabula comica.* Zwolle, 1607. BM, LC.

Schottenius, Hermannus. *Ludus Martius.* N.p., 1525. BS.

— — Cologne, 1526. O.

— — Marburg, 1902.

— *Ludus imperatorius . . . cui accedit Ludus Martius.* Cologne, 1527. BM.

Schwalbachius, Johannes Georgius (J. G. Swalbachius). *Antipater.* Speier, 1617.

Wolf.

Selectae PP. Soc. Jesu tragoediae [Vol. I: Donatus' *Suevia*, Stephonius' *Crispus* and *Flavia*, Malapertius' *Sedecias*, Petavius' *Sisaras*; Vol. II: Petavius' *Carthaginenses*, Libenus' *Joseph*, Cellotius' *S. Adrianus*, *Sapor admonitus*, *Chosroes*]. Antwerp, 1634. BM (Vol. I only), BN (Vol. I only), BS, Koblentz, Düsseldorf, HC, Y (Vol. II only).

Selneccerus, Nicholas. *Theophania, comoedia de primorum parentum conditione.* Wittenberg, 1560. BM, Wolf.

Serchius, Horatius. *Candidi amores.* Pavia, 1618. BN.

Simonides, Simon. *Castus Joseph.* Cracow, 1587. F.

Simons, Joseph. *Zeno tragoedia; Mercia tragoedia.* Rome, 1648. BM.

Snelling, Thomas. *Thibaldus.* Oxford, 1640. O, C, H, N, Hn.

—— [entitled *Pharamus*]. London, 1650. O.

Soliman, Julius. *Constantinus victor.* Prague, 1627. Formerly reported to be at Xanten but not there now.

Spanmueller, Jacob. See Pontanus.

Speccius, Christopher. *Titus et Gisippus.* Altdorf, 1623. Wolf.

Stephonius, Bernardinus. *Crispus.* Rome, 1601. H, HC.

—— Pont à Mousson, 1602. BS, Trier.

—— Naples, 1604. Koblenz.

—— Milan, 1617. Münst.

—— Antwerp, 1634. [In *Selectae . . . tragoediae*, q.v.]

— *Flavia.* Rome, 1621. Meiningen.

—— Pont à Mousson, 1622. BM.

—— Antwerp, 1634. [In *Selectae . . . tragoediae*, q.v.]

Steyndörfferus, Maternus. *Comoedia tractans de matrimonio.* Mainz, 1540. Gött, O.

Stoicus vapulans. See Hackett.

Streuffius, Theodorus. *Comoedia studiosi.* Cologne, 1572. Formerly at BS but not there now.

Stubbe, Edmund. *Fraus honesta.* London, 1632. BM, BN, O, C, H, Y, F, Mi, Hn.

Stymmelius, Christopher. *Studentes.* Frankfort, 1549. Wolf.

—— Frankfort, 1550. BM, BN, Wolf, H.

—— Cologne, 1552. Strasb, F.

—— Frankfort, 1554. H.

—— Cologne, 1557. BS.

—— Cologne, 1561. BS.

—— Cologne, 1565. BS, PU.

—— Cologne, 1569. O.

—— Cologne, 1577. BN, BS.

—— Cologne, 1579. Gött, Wolf, O.

—— Cologne, 1589, Hann.

—— Leipzig, 1596. Y.

—— Magdeburg, 1614. BS, Wolf.

—— Madgeburg, n.d. PU.

—— Alentophili [Amsterdam?], 1622. BS.

—— Alentophili, 1647. BN, BS, Gött, H, Y, F, Ch.

— *Isaac immolandus.* Madgeburg, 1614. Hann.

— *Comoediae duae.* Stettin, 1579. BS, Gött, Mun, H, F.

Surius, Joannes. *Moratae poeseos volumen I(–II)* [containing *Lucta carnis et spiritus in S. Augustini conversione, Domus evangelici paterfamilias, Ambrosias, Ubi fuerit superbia ibi erit et contumelia*]. Arras, 1617. BM, BN.

— *Inaures aureae: castorum dramatum volumen tertium* [containing *S. Procopii conversio, B. Nicolai caritas, Coniugium Beati Madelgarii cum Beata Waletrude in carmen comicum relatum, Absolonis Davidem patrem persequentis moesta catastrophe, Drama iambicum de paenitentia Theophili*]. Tournai, 1621. St. Mary's Coll., St. Mary's, Kans.

Susius, Nicholas. *Opuscula* [containing *Pendularia*]. Antwerp, 1620. BM, O.

Sylvius, Joannes. *Isaac xilophorus.* Ypres, 1554. Brus.

Swalbachius, J. G. See Schwalbachius.

Telesio, Antonio. See Thylesius.

Thuanus, Jacobus Augustus (J. A. de Thou). *Parabata vinctus sive triumphus Christi.* Paris, 1595. BM, F.

—— Paris, 1599. O.

Thylesius, Antonius (A. Telesio). *Imber aureus.* Venice, 1529. BM, H, Y, F.

—— Nuremberg, 1530. Not found; from Bahlmann.

—— Antwerp, 1546. BM, Ch.

— — Basel, 1545. [In *Opuscula.*] F.
Tortolettus, Bartholomaeus. *Agrippina maior.* Rome, 1639. H.
Vadianus, Joachimus. *Mythicum syntagma cui titulus gallus pugnans.* Vienna, 1514. H.
Verardus, Carolus. *Historia baetica.* Rome, 1492. Mad.
— — Rome, 1493. BM, O, ABM.
— — Basel, 1494. BM, H.
— — Paris, 1919. [In *Revue Hispanique* XLVII.]
Verardus, Marcellinus. *Fernandus servatus.* Rome, [1493?]. BM, BS, O, Mad, HSA.
— — Strasbourg, 1513. [In P. Platus, *Libellus de carcere*]. F.
— — Paris, 1914. [In *Revue Hispanique* XXXII.]
Vernulaeus, Nicholas. *Gorcomienses.* Cologne, 1610. BS, Münst, Hag.
— *Divus Eustachius.* Louvain, 1612. Gh.
— *Theodoricus.* Louvain, 1623. BN.
— *Henricus octavus.* Louvain, 1624. Gh, BM, O, F.
— *Ottocarus.* Louvain, 1626. Erfurt, Frankfort.
— *Conradinus et Crispus.* Louvain, 1628. BS, Mun, Gh, Hag.
— *Joanna Darcia.* Louvain, 1629. BN.
— — Orleans, 1880.
— *Maximus.* Louvain, 1630. Antwerp, Brasenose Coll. Oxford.
— *Tragoediae decem* [containing, in addition to the plays above, *Thomas Cantuariensis, Stanislaus*]. Louvain, 1631. BM, F, Ch.
— — Cologne, 1639. Not found; from Lipenius.
— *Fritlandus.* Louvain, 1637. BS, Gh, Mun.
— — Leipzig, 1933.
Viperanus, Joannes Antonius. *Poemata* [containing *Filius prodigus*]. Naples, 1593. BM.
Virdungus, Michael (M. Wirdung). *Saul tragoedia.* Jena, 1595. Wolf.
— *Juvenilia* [containing *Saul, Brutus*]. Nuremberg, 1598. F.
— *Tragoediae.* Nuremberg, 1609. Bremen, Zwi.
Vivarius, Jacobus. *Petrus praedicans.* Antwerp, 1578. All Souls Oxford.
— *Redemptio nostra.* Antwerp, 1579. BM, F.
Volder, W. van de. See Gnaphaeus.
Wallaeus, Theodorus. *Maria Othonis III uxor.* Louvain, 1631. Ch.
Waldungus, Wolfgang. *Orestes.* Altdorf, 1593. Wolf.
— *Oedipus.* Altdorf, 1596. Zwi.
— *Catharinae martyrium.* Nuremberg, 1602. Not found; from *ADB.*
— *Aethiopicus.* Nuremberg, 1605. Nuremberg, Vi.
— *Cymon Galesus.* Nuremberg, 1612. Nuremberg.
Walther, R. See Gualtherus.
Wichgrevius, Albertus. *Cornelius relegatus.* Rostock, 1600. Not found; from Gollancz sale.
— — Leipzig, 1602. BM, F.
— — Rostock, 1607. O.
Wimphelingius, Jacobus. *Stilpho.* Speier, 1495. BM, BS, PML.
— — Berlin, 1892.
Wingfield, Anthony. *Pedantius.* London, 1631. BM, O, C, H, Y, F, Mi, N, Hn.
— — Louvain, 1905.
Wirdung, M. See Virdungus.
Wolfius, Jacobus. *Tragoediae duae ex Virgili Aeneide* [*Dido, Turnus*]. Kopenhagen, 1591. Kop.
Wunstius, Andreas. *Simson.* Strasbourg, 1604. Gött, Strasb.
Zambertus, Bartholomaeus. *Dolotechne.* Venice, 1504. H, F.
— — Cologne, 1511. Gött, BM, H, Y, F.
Zevecotius, Jacobus. *Poemata* [containing *Maria Graeca, Rosimunda, Esther*]. Antwerp, 1623. F.
— *Poemata* [containing *Maria Graeca, Rosimunda*]. Leyden, 1625. BM, H, F.
— — Leyden, 1640. BM, Y (fragment, n.d.).
Zieglerus, Hieronymus. *Pedonethia.* Augsburg, 1543. Gött, Wolf, F.
— *Immolatio Isaaci.* Augsburg, 1543. BS, Mun, Wolf, F
— — Basel, 1547. [In *Dramata sacra*, q.v.]
— *Protoplastus.* Augsburg, 1543. Not found; from Bahlmann.

——N.p., 1545. BS.
——Basel, 1547. [In *Dramata sacra*, q.v.]
— *Cyrus major*. Augsburg, [1547?]. Wolf, H, F.
—*Heli, Nomothesia, Samson*. Basel, 1547. [In *Dramata sacra*, q.v.]
— *Ophiletes*. Ingolstadt, 1549. BS, Y.
— *Christi vinea, Ophiletes*. Basel, 1551. BM, BS, O, F.
— *Regales nuptiae*. Augsburg, 1553. BS, Wolf.
— *Dramata sacra duo* [*Infanticidium, De decem virginibus*]. Ingolstadt, 1555. BM, Wolf, H.
— *Infanticidium*. Antwerp, 1556. Ch.
— *Abel justus*. Ingolstadt, 1559. BM.
Zovitius, Jacobus. *Ruth*. Antwerp, 1533. Not found; from Goedeke.
——Basel, 1547. [In *Dramata sacra*, q.v.]
— *Didascalus*. Antwerp, 1534. Not found; from Goedeke.
— — Antwerp, 1540. Not found; from Goedeke.
——Cologne, 1540. BS.
——Cologne, 1541. BM, F, H.
— *Ovis perdita*. Antwerp, 1539. BM, BS.
——Cologne, 1540. O, H.
——Antwerp, 1540. Ch.
——Antwerp, 1541. F.

New Forms of Neo-Latin Pastoral

IN THREE earlier essays[1] I examined the Latin epistolary and cryptic eclogues of fourteenth-century Italy and then (in more detail) a considerable number of the derivative and literary eclogues produced in various countries during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In the present essay we shall be concerned with (A) new developments in literary pastoral, especially in Italy, and (B) the use of pastoral as a vehicle, both during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In A there are at least a dozen forms: piscatory eclogues, holitory, vinitory, domestic, mythological, rhetorical, Hebraistic, and humorous eclogues, the hunting-eclogue, the pastoral epyllion, the dream-eclogue, and the quasi-dramatic masque-pastoral.

A

(i) In group A the only form of pastoral which seems (thanks to W. P. Mustard) at all generally familiar is the eclogue of fishermen, or piscatory eclogue, developed by Jacopo Sannazaro[2] of Naples (*ca.* 1456–1530) and widely imitated by subsequent European poets in Latin and the vernacular alike. Five of these poems and a brief fragment of a sixth appear in Sannazaro's Latin works.[3] Their nature is best explained by

[1] 'Early neo-Latin Pastoral', *Phoenix* IX (1955), 19–26; *Studies in Philology* LIII (1956), 429–451; the third is forthcoming in *SP*; in the present essay biographical and bibliographical notices of authors (e.g., of Battista Fiera, Euricius Cordus, Elius Eobanus) are not repeated if already given in these three articles. The preparation of this essay, as of the two in *SP*, was assisted by a grant from the President's Committee on Research of the University of British Columbia.

[2] Biographical details in the *Vita* of Vulpius in the 1782 edition of his works (cf. n. 3); cf. *Enciclopedia italiana* XXX, 739–740 and literature cited.

[3] *Actii Synceri Poemata omnia* (Bassani, 1782) includes the *De partu virginis*, the piscatories, three books of elegies, and three books of epigrams. Of the *De partu virginis* Carrara (*Enc. it.*) remarks that despite the epic form the treatment is essentially lyric; it would be

Mustard:[4] 'His Latin Eclogues follow the regular Virgilian forms very closely, and their subjects are the regular traditional subjects—the dirge, the lover's complaint, the singing-match, etc. But the Virgilian conventions are so far modified that the pastoral eclogue becomes a piscatory eclogue, or an idyl of fishermen. The singers are no longer shepherds, but fishermen, and the scene is no longer Sicily or Arcadia, but the Bay of Naples. The wood-nymphs are transformed into sea-nymphs, the rustic gods into gods of the sea. Instead of flocks and herds, the speakers talk of boats and fishing-nets and lobster-pots, and instead of flowers and fruits the lover's gifts are oysters and shells and pearls and coral.' The charm of these poems is great; it is not astonishing that they were read as widely as Virgil's own eclogues in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Since most subsequent attempts to create new forms of literary pastoral appear to have been inspired by Sannazaro's example, it would not be out of place at this point to refer the reader to a complete French version[5] of the second piscatory, as being entirely characteristic of the new genre. The remainder of Sannazaro's eclogues can then be dismissed rather briefly.

In the first poem two fishermen (Lycidas and Mycon) are reminded by the curious behavior of the sea-birds and dolphins that it is the anniversary of the death of the girl one of them had loved. Mycon presents a fisherman's offerings at her tomb, while Lycidas sings a lament freely modeled on Virgil, with occasional echoes of Statius.[6] The poem is typical of Sannazaro in its excellent versification, its gently melancholy tone, and its highly conventional form.

In the third poem two fishermen, driven from their work by wind and storm, sing of their sweethearts in alternating, 'amoebaean' quatrains. In the fourth eclogue two fishermen returning to Naples by night from Capri listen to Proteus as he sings to the dolphins and Tritons of the legends connected with various places about the Bay of Naples; the poem is a careful and ingenious adaptation of Virgil's sixth eclogue, in which two shepherds listen to Silenus' Lucretian song. The fifth poem is

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more correct to say that the treatment is elegiac: the tone throughout is Ovidian and gently Tibullan, and it is this which distinguishes the style of the work from that of Vida's *Christiad*. The epigrams are very varied: erotic, ingenious, dainty, or pungent; the elegies are the perfect expression of Sannazaro's gentle, pensive, melancholy nature.

[4] *The Piscatory Eclogues of Sannazaro* (Baltimore, 1911), p. 11.

[5] Cf. F. Torraca, *Gl' imitatori stranieri di Jacopo Sannazaro* (Rome, 1882), pp. 54–55.

[6] Mustard cites the relevant passages.

entitled *Herpylis; or, The Spellbinder;* here, as in Virgil's eighth eclogue, there is first a song of lament over a lover's unfaithfulness, and then a song of enchantment.

(ii) Another new form, for which hints had already appeared in Virgil's *Georgics*, in a passage of Columella's *De re rustica*, and in various late eclogues, is the garden-eclogue (*holitoria*), examples of which appear in the work of Battista Fiera of Mantua (1469–1538) and of Elio Giulio Crotti[7] of Cremona (*ca.* 1500–*ca.* 1564).

Of Fiera's three eclogues, the first, being derivative, has been discussed already in an earlier essay. In the second the speakers (Coryle and Pomonis) are two sisters who own a large garden. In the first part of the poem Coryle tells her sister to cease her laments; perhaps tomorrow the faithless Lycon will be Pomonis' sweetheart after all. But Pomonis continues to grieve over her unhappy love affair, her sending of fruits and flowers from the garden: Lycon still prefers Lycoris. She launches forth into a longish prayer to the Virgin Mary, but breaks off when she realizes that her father can overhear. In the third eclogue a gardener named Alcippus tries to persuade Pasiphile to live with him and be his love; it is pleasant enough, but not nearly so effective as the second.

Lilio Giraldi speaks of Crotti's composing a number of eclogues; either he was misled by the title of the *Eidyllia* (which are in no way pastoral) or else the poet suppressed a number of his bucolic poems, for in the Ferrara edition[8] I have been able to find only one such, a poem entitled *Hirtipile*. In this poem a girl laments a storm which has ruined her garden, and details the plants, flowers, and vegetables which have been laid low. It is competent, but hardly so successful an attempt at the *holitoria* as Fera's second poem.

More attractive than any of the three mentioned so far is the *De laudibus horti*[9] of Gilbertus Nucillanus, a French schoolmaster of the early sixteenth century. Daphnis (the poet himself) and his friend Damon sing in amoebaean verse the praises of the trees (laurel, orange, box, willow), vines, and flowers (lilies, violets, narcissus, roses) which flourish in their

[7] Biographical details in Tiraboschi (1787–94), VII, iv, 1404; cf. also Lilio Giraldi, *De poetis nostrorum temporum*, ed. Wotke (Berlin, 1904), 90.

[8] *Aelii Iulii Crotti Cremonensis Opuscula* (Ferrara, 1564); five of the poems appear on pp. 163–169 of Emilia Costa's *Antologia della lirica latina nei secoli XV e XVI* (Città di Castello, 1888).

[9] Printed in Joannes Oporinus' Basel anthology (*Bucolicorum autores xxxviii*, 1546) of eclogues.

garden and then pass on to praises of autumn's joys. This is an excellent poem, and one would gladly know more of magister Nucillanus.

(iii) The limits of this sketchy essay are 1300 and 1600; but we should at least mention the eclogues[10] of the Aberdonian poet John Leech (fl. 1600–20). This Scottish Latinist produced no less than twenty eclogues (in groups of five), divided into *bucolica* (i.e., conventional and derivative poems), piscatory eclogues (imitated from Sannazaro, but with the scene laid in the bleak and uninviting east coast of Scotland), *nauticae* (seamen's eclogues, said by Mustard to be in imitation of a poem by Hugo Grotius; but Cornelis de Schryver had written *nauticae* a century earlier than Grotius' *Myrtilus*), and a group of poems called *ampelicae* or *vinitoriae eclogae*, in which the characters are vine-growers, the lover's gifts grapes and wine, and so on. In an introduction to the poem, Leech rather preens himself on being the first pastoral poet to have thought of vineyards in this connection; certainly the poems are well worth a careful reading—they are cheerful and well-written. They appear, incidentally, to have been written in France[11] between 1617 and 1620.

(iv) Once neo-Latin poets started to experiment with new forms of eclogue, the practice became fashionable, and it was an easy matter to modify the pastoral bucolic proper into, for example, a hunting-eclogue, as in a poem of Luigi Annibale della Croce[12] of Naples (fl. 1500). In this poet's one eclogue the hunter Mopsus leaves his bed at dawn, driven by unrequited love for Galla; he arms himself with bow and quiver and sets out with his hunting-dogs. He had started a stag and pursued it, until by chance he came to the very spot where he had first seen Galla: this all reads very much like something from Ovid, and the verbal resemblances are in fact to the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid rather than to the *Eclogues* of Virgil. Mopsus halts and in a conventional lament describes the agony of love and wonders if his sweetheart is preparing yet fiercer flames for him. As it is, since the first time he saw her he has taken no pleasure in food or wine, has been unable to sleep, and laments constantly:

> o quam saepe meo crevistis, flumina, planctu;
> o quam saepe meo viruistis, gramina, planctu;
> o quam saepe meo gemuistis, robora, planctu. (43–45)

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[10] Printed in *Musae priores: sive, Poematum pars prior* (London, 1620). So far as I know, no further volume of poems appeared.

[11] Like George Buchanan, John Barclay, and other Scottish humanists, he spent much of his life in France and was almost as much French as Scottish.

[12] He is not mentioned in Tiraboschi or listed in the *Enciclopedia italiana*. His poems are

Yet she ignores his grief and is not moved by his gifts; the reader hardly needs to be told what those gifts were.

But (he goes on) perhaps she despises his *horrida forma*? He reminds her that not only did the heroes of old, like Paris and Adonis, devote themselves to the hunt, but the Aragonese kings[13] of Naples are also enthusiastic huntsmen, in particular Ferdinand II.

The eighth bucolic of Euricius Cordus of Hesse (1486–1538) contains hunting-scenes that are reminiscent both of the *Venatio* (a description of a hunting-party at Ferrara) of Ercole Strozzi (1471–1508) and of hunting-eclogues proper; these have already been referred to in an earlier article. Peter Lotich's first eclogue is entitled *Sarnis the Hunter* (*Sarnis venator*). Here Lycidas laments the disappearance of Sarnis, a much younger huntsman. The central motif is familiar; the one element of originality is the *mise en scène:* all details are concerned with hunting. Lycidas describes how he had devoted long hours to training Sarnis, who had become no mean hunter himself. He calls on Sarnis to return, in order to tell him of the adventures he has had and the cities he has seen. Finally Lycidas rises to his feet and, accompanied by two old hunting-dogs, Asterion and Lycon, hangs upon a tree the bow, quiver, and hunting-nets that Sarnis had once used. If Luigi della Croce's poem is Ovidian, this is Tibullan (and Sannazaran) in phraseology and melancholic tone alike.

Lotich's fifth eclogue (a dirge) has some of the trappings of the huntsman's eclogue; it will be described later in its proper place.

(v) The above four types of literary eclogue depend for their novelty upon a *mise en scène* new to pastoral; so too with a fifth class which we might label the 'domestic' eclogue, exemplified by the sixth eclogue of Giovanni Pontano (*ca.* 1424–1503),[14] a poem from which pastoral elements have all but disappeared. Pelvina, a country mother, tries to rock her child, awakened by a thunderstorm, back to sleep, but he proves wakeful and talkative. The little boy is convinced that he sees a limping ghost. Pelvina, instead of saying irritably that there's no such thing as a ghost, calms the child by pretending to chase the ghost away. The poem now develops into a determined catechism. Who is the ghost? He is Or-

printed in Gruter's *Delitiae poetarum Italorum* (Frankfort, 1608), vol. I and in vol. III of the *Carmina illustrium poetarum Italorum* (Florence, 1719 ff.).

[13] For Alfonso I, cf. N. Valeri, *L'Italia nell' età dei principati* (Verona, 1949), 464–465, where is illustrated a fine medallion by Pisanello, on the reverse of which appears a hunting-scene showing Alfonso killing a wild boar; the legend 'VENATOR INTREPIDVS' appears above his head. For Ferdinand II, cf. Sannazaro, *Eleg.* I, xix and xxiii.

[14] Cf. nn. 28 and 29.

cus, and he waits for naughty little boys who wake up in the middle of the night or pester their mothers in the day time. Is there a good fairy? Yes; he cares for us all. Would he give me strawberries even if I'm whipped at school? Yes, though he prefers little boys who learn their lessons and prayers. I'd like to have a drum when the priest says Mass; do you think he'd bring me a drum? Perhaps (says his mother); but I'll give you a present myself if you stop wetting the bed—you're a big boy now and the limping ghost waits for little boys who wet the bed. By now the little boy is ready to go to sleep, and his mother begins to sing him a lullaby (*naeniola*).

This poem is highly characteristic of the homely, domestic, conjugal side of Pontano's verse. Ovid would have stared, said E. K. Rand,[15] at the title of Pontano's *De amore coniugali*; the ancient pastoral poets would have been equally astonished by the content of this little poem, the least pastoral of any we have examined so far. Even more noticeable is the freedom of style; Pontano is far readier than any other eclogist not only to use Catullan Latin of the most colloquial kind but also to create diminutives and neologisms of every sort: he wrote not to be a second Virgil but to be Pontano.

(vi) The creation of new myths—classical figures in a contemporary background—is common in elegiac poetry, especially among the Neapolitan Latinists. It also occurs now and again in eclogue, as in the fifth of Giovanni Pontano, a poem dedicated to his favorite and successor in the Neapolitan Academy, Jacopo Sannazaro. Near the beech-tree at which Patulcis, like Melisaeus and Antiniana, had wept for Adriana's fate, Antiniana[16] herself sang of Adriana and Cupid: she tells how Venus had once left the baby Cupid sleeping by a river in the care of the nymph Sebethis[17] while she herself sped off to the countryside to gather flowers, accompanied by the Graces. But four women appeared, who stole the baby's bow and arrows, tied him up, and left rejoicing in their booty: these women prove to be Nemesis (Tibullus' nickname for his sweetheart), Corinna (Ovid's light of love), Lesbia (Catullus'), and Cynthia (Propertius'). When Cupid awoke he cried aloud to the Graces and Venus and the shepherds to free him and return his weapons; Adriana heard

[15] *Ovid and his Influence* (New York, 1928), p. 154.

[16] Melisaeus and Adriana refer to Pontano himself and Adriana Sassone, his wife. The nymph Patulcis represents the district in Naples called Vomero today; Antiniana is named after the district (Antignano) in which Pontano lived.

[17] Sebethis is the nymph of the stream called Sebeto.

him and obeyed, but was taken by the baby for his own mother. When at last he recognized who she really was, he breathed into her 'loving poison' and prophesied that her praise would some day be sung by a poet.[18]

(vii) Another type of eclogue that involves myth-creation appears in Giambattista Amalteo's fourth pastoral, the *Sarnus*. This is a tale of metamorphosis in a pastoral setting, a sort of pastoral epyllion. The shepherd Sarnus once loved a huntress named Lyriope. He pursued her through woods and over hills; always she fled and always she eluded him, until at last he stopped, exhausted, by a cave to pour out his laments to Pan and the nymphs. At last he was transformed into an ever-flowing stream by the kindly gods. Although there are many verbal reminiscences of Virgil's *Eclogues* in this excellently-written little poem, there are even more —as the reader would expect—of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.

Both the *Metamorphoses* and Tibullus contributed to the *Salix* of Jacopo Sannazaro, which is likewise not so much a pastoral in the true sense as a pastoral epyllion, like the *Sarnus*. It is a tale of metamorphosis again, telling how the nymph Salix, to avoid being outraged by Pan, prayed to the gods in agony to be saved and was duly transformed into a willow (*salix*). Here again the setting is Neapolitan, and no doubt Sannazaro's friends in the academy, as they read the poem, could have recognized the very spot on the banks of the Sebeto where Salix was transformed.

Similar to Sannazaro's poem is the *Salix* of Daniele or Daniello Cereto of Brescia,[19] who died in 1528. This poem of 164 hexameters, extremely popular in its day, is strongly Ovidian in plot and metrical technique, graceful, polished, artful in phrase, conventional in thought, more concerned with variety of expression than with novelty of content. The plot is similar to that of Sannazaro's poem: Salix, one of Diana's nymphs, was espied as she rested under an oak near the shore by Glaucus, busied at his fishing: *visâ, stupet ille siletque* (18). He violated her and left her to lament through the woods. For long the dryads, ignorant of what had happened, tried to console her, until finally she could no longer conceal her condition. At length she was seen by Diana, who in anger was about

[18] In the first book of the *De amore coniugali* and especially in Pontano's second eclogue (*Melisaeus, a quo uxoris mors ploratur*).

[19] Printed on pp. 307–312 of the 1782 ed. of Sannazaro. Biographical and bibliographical details in the introduction to his major literary work *De foro et laudibus Brixiae*, ed. Giambattista Rodella (Brescia, 1778).

to kill her with an arrow, when the nymph fled to the river Mello. She prayed to the gods for aid; Phoebus replied that she would be transformed into a tree and lines 129–142 describe in detail her metamorphosis into a weeping willow. It is all very neat, but we must be careful to render unto Ovid what is Ovid's.

A somewhat similar pastoral epyllion appears among the poems of Giovanni Battista Nicolucci[20] of Ferrara (1530–75), nicknamed *Il Pigna*. In the eighth poem of Pigna's *Satyrae* a group of satyrs pursue some nymphs of Arcadia without success: the nymphs hide, and the satyrs pretend to leave for Latium. At this the imprudent nymphs come out of hiding to bathe, and are promptly surprised by the waiting satyrs, who are, however, frustrated by the transformation of the nymphs into flowers, trees, and birds. The nature and tone of the poem can easily be guessed; while individual parts are excellent, the poem as a whole loses its interest—239 hexameters of this sort of thing is too much.

Another class of eclogue which is literary but non-derivative depends, not on *mise en scène* or on myth-creation, but upon tone; these are represented by (viii) the rhetorical eclogue, as in Pomponio Gaurico or Guarico[21] (1481/2–1530) and (ix) the Hebraizing, as it appears in Giano Anisio (*ca.* 1475–*ca.* 1540).

(viii) Among Gaurico's works[22] appear two eclogues,[23] of which the second (*Orpheus*) is an unimportant literary-derivative eclogue based on the old tradition of Orpheus' homosexuality. The first (untitled) eclogue, a poem of 136 hexameters, is literary, but is noticeable for its overwhelmingly rhetorical manner and its almost unbelievable use of anaphora, which is the only justification for placing the poem in a category by itself. After a brief introduction by the poet, Orpheus and Thamyras, in alternating quatrains, praise and blame love. The constant parallelism is too much for any ordinary reader to bear, and a brief quotation will achieve far more than a page of description:

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[20] Biographical details in Tiraboschi, VII, iii, 959, 971–973 and especially 966–970; *Enciclopedia italiana* XXVII, 268 and literature there cited, especially Barotti, *Memorie storiche di letterati ferraresi* (Ferrara, 1893), III. His output was extensive in Latin and Italian alike; the Latin verses appear in *Io. Baptistae Pignae Carminum libri quattuor* (Venice, 1553) in which the *Satyrae* also appear.

[21] Biographical details in E. Percopò, 'Pomponio Gaurico, umanista napoletano' in *Atti della reale Accademia di archivio letterario e belle arti di Napoli* XVI (1891–93), 141–261.

[22] Not all have been printed; listed by Paolo Giovio in his *Elogia* and (more fully) in Giov. Bernardino Tafuri, *Istoria degli scrittori nati nel regno di Napoli*, ed. G. Castelli (Naples, 1744–60, 3 vols.).

[23] Printed in the Basel anthology.

Or. Quisquis amat, duro firmet sua pectora ferro;
quisquis amat, pulchra componat imagine vultus;
quisquis amat, dulci praevincat carmine cycnos;
quisquis amat, doctas studeat placuisse per artes.

Th. Nil opus ut duro firmet sua pectora ferro;
nil opus ut pulchra componat imagine vultus;
nil opus ut dulci praevincat carmine cycnos;
quisquis amat, fulvum studeat placuisse per aurum.

Or. Qui cupit in terris felicem degere vitam,
qui cupit aetherei cognoscere gaudia caeli,
qui cupit ambrosia pasci hyblaeoque liquore,
ille amet, ille suo semper succumbat amori.

Th. Qui volet infelicem in terris ducere vitam,
qui volet inferni cognoscere tristia mundi,
qui volet elleboro pasci saevisque cicutis,
ille amet, ille suo semper succumbat amori. (20–35)

After 136 such hexameters the reader wishes that amoebaean verse had never been invented.

(ix) In Oporinus' Basel anthology of pastoral poetry appears Giano Anisio's third eclogue, *Sapientia*, a pastoral re-working of Anisio's *Carmina* III. xiv, which is a hendecasyllabic version of part of the Song of Solomon. In the pastoral version a lover serenades his lady in language that combines Hebraic imagery and parallelisms in a manner that is little more than calculated oddity.[24]

We next come to two sorts of eclogue that display a lighter tone and manner: (x) the dream-eclogue, as in Bartolommeo Fazio,[25] and (xi) the humorous eclogue, as in Elius Eobanus of Hesse.

(x) In the Latin works[26] of Bartolommeo Fazio of Spezia (*ca.* 1400–

[24] On this poem cf. *PQ* XXXIII (1954), 17, n. 26.

[25] Biographical details in R. Sabbadini, 'Bartolommeo Facio', *Scritti storici in memoria di G. Monticolo* (Padua, 1922), 27–46; cf. also U. Mazzini in *Giornale storico e letterario della Liguria* IV (1903).

[26] His works include the *De viris illustribus* (elaborately edited by the tireless Mehus, Florence, 1745); *De rebus gestis ab Alphonso . . . rege* (Lyons, 1560; this is the first ed. to contain all ten books); *De vitae felicitate* (s.l., 1476); *De bello Veneto Clodiano* (Lyons, 1568; on the war of Chioggia in 1377); *De excellentia ac praestantia hominis*, printed in Felinus Sandens' *De regibus Siciliae et Apuliae* (Hannover, 1591), II, 149–168 His most famous work was the unfinished *Invectivae quattuor in Laurentium Vallam*, on which see Valentini in *Rendiconti della reale Accademia dei Lincei* (Cl. di sc. morali . . .), ser. 5, XV (1906), 493–550.

57) there appears a single eclogue[27] of 74 hexameters. In sleep the poet hears the contest in song between Tityrus and Arpinas (i.e., Giovanni Antonio Campano). The rest of the poem consists largely of panegyric of the verses of the poet's friend, who did, as a matter of fact, write a good deal of attractive occasional verse as a young man. But the reader who hopes to find in this poem a significant addition to the extensive literature of dream-poems will be disappointed; even allowing for some corruption in the text this is a shapeless and pointless little poem which leads nowhere in particular.

(xi) Even less interesting is the heavy-handed, heavy-footed humor of Eobanus' ninth eclogue, a poem of 96 hexameters. After some conversation between two shepherds on the breeding of flocks and herds, the last thirty lines are devoted to amoebaean verses praising the merits and uses of wool and milk; the alleged humor of these lines is hard to find, and, when found, to appreciate, but is definitely intended as cryptic humor, since one of the interlocutors remarks smugly that very few townsmen would understand their witticisms (91–93). Quite so. Eobanus appears to have been like the well-known Scottish clergyman who joked wi' deeficulty.

(xii) We can close this part of the essay by glancing at a first-rate poem by Giovanni Pontano.[28] Among his extensive and important Latin works[29] appears a connected series of eclogues (forming a masque) called *Lepidina*, first published in 1505. Its 800 lines and more consist of an introductory and comparatively conventional eclogue practically complete in itself (this is called the *Lepidina* proper) followed by seven separate scenes or *pompae* (processions) of which the speakers of the *Lepidina* are spectators and on which they occasionally comment. Each *pompa* is intended to pay homage in one way or another to Parthenope and Sebethus (personifications of Naples and the river Sebeto) whose marriage is fast approaching, and each *pompa* consists of a group of personages representing figures of Neapolitan legend or personifications of districts in Naples. Variety is achieved by making one *pompa* an amoebaean marriage-song, another a quasi-piscatory, another a panegyric, and the like.

[27] *Carmen ad Antonium Campanum*, of which the earliest and (I believe) the only printed version is in *Anecdota litteraria*, ed. Io. Christophorus Amadutius (Rome, 1774), III, 425–436. A few lines appear to be missing after vs. 71.

[28] The best modern work: E. Percopò, *La vita di Giovanni Pontano* (Naples, 1937).

[29] The only complete edition is the elaborate one produced by Pietro Summonte at Naples in 1505–12(?); on the *Lepidina*, cf. *PQ* XXXVI (1957), 76–83.

As for its possible presentation, it seems likely that it was presented on the very shores it describes.

The whole work is entirely characteristic of Pontano: it exhibits both his fluent and wholly un-self-conscious use of the international language and his self-conscious awareness of his own position as leader in arts and letters at Naples; as always, his exuberant Latin and occasional lack of care contrast strongly with the elegant Latin and occasional languidness of Sannazaro.

B

We can now attempt a survey of the use of pastoral in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as a vehicle or medium for panegyric of contemporaries, epithalamia, the theme of the contemporary golden age, the dirge or epicedion, devotional poetry, controversy, and historical and personal matters.

(i) One of the earliest humanists, if not actually the earliest, to employ the Latin pastoral as a medium for panegyric was Basinio de' Basini[30] of Parma (1425–57). Among his works[31] appears a solitary eclogue (*Carmina varia* xix), a panegyric of the new pontificate of Pope Nicholas v (acceded 1447), expected to be a new golden age[32] (line 30: *aurea nascetur toto gens altera mundo*). In this poem of 104 hexameters the interlocutors are Neomantis (i.e., the poet himself) and Philoenus, another shepherd. In form the poem is a sort of *alba* (dawn-poem): Neomantis is discovered bringing out his sheep as the first rays of the sun appear, and his first words describe the frosts of early morning, soon to be dissipated by the warmth of the day. After a prophecy of a new golden age under a

[30] Biographical details in Tiraboschi, vi, iii, 920–922; F. Ferri, *La giovinezza di un poeta* (Rimini, 1914); *id.*, *L'autore del Liber Isottaeus* (Rimini, 1912).

[31] The hexameter works (running to nearly 12,000 lines) are collected in *Basini Parmensis poetae Opera praestantiora* (Rimini, 1794); vol. I contains the text of the *Hesperis*, *Meleagris*, *Argonautica*, and *Astronomica*: most of all this was written between 1450 and 1454; vol. II contains Ireneo Affò's biography of the poet and other documents. The elegiac works are conveniently available in F. Ferri, *Le poesie liriche di Basinio* (Turin, 1905), which contains a useful bibliography.

[32] Prophecy of a new golden age at the accession of some new prince or pontiff is a stock theme in neo-Latin poetry: it appears in Filelfo, Buonincontri, Verino, Boiardo, Urceo, Mantuan, Marullo, Sannazaro, Fracastoro, Calcagnini, Lelio Capilupi, Marcantonio Flaminio, Crotti, Giambattista Giraldi, Girolamo Amalteo, and Ippolito Capilupi (the list is chronological), and many more European Latin poets. The theme is burlesqued in Latin by Crotti, in Spanish by Cervantes; the unpleasant truth about government in Italy's 'golden age' appears in a letter (dated 1454) addressed by Pius II to Leonardo Bentivoglio.

glorious new shepherd, he is interrupted by Philoenus, who asks who this new shepherd can be. How is it possible, asks Neomantis, that you have not already heard? Philoenus replies that his troubles with the fair Nise have prevented him from paying attention to anything else. Philoenus' troubles get short shrift, however, for Neomantis now launches into what is to be the main part of the poem, a panegyric of Nicholas with the repeated refrain *dicite bucolicos musae mihi dicite versus*. Philoenus then asks, if Neomantis thus praises Nicholas from a distance, who will sing his praises to his face; and in Neomantis' final words the poem ends in a graceful compliment to Basinio's friend Maffeo Vegio, then living at Rome, to whom the poem was to be sent for criticism, and, presumably, eventual presentation to Pope Nicholas himself.

No less than four of the ten courtly pastorals of Matteo Maria Boiardo (1440/1–1494) are panegyrical, as are all the fifteen poems (non-pastoral) of his *De laudibus Estensium* already referred to in an earlier essay. In the first eclogue (*Syringa*) the two characters involved are the god Pan and a rustic named Poeman, who presumably represents Boiardo himself. Pan has deserted Arcadia, the bucolic paradise, where there is now nothing but disturbance and war, and has sought out the peaceful streams of northern Italy. Here Tityrus (i.e., Virgil) had once watched his flock before he turned to sing of war and arms: Poeman, says Pan, must, however, confine himself to pastoral: *tu modo per silvas vestigia nostra secutus | horrida Mavortis contingere tela caveto; | nostra sed a nostro ducantur numine verba*. Poeman replies, however, that it is his duty to sing of the merits of Alcides (i.e., Hercules, that is, Ercole d'Este, Duke of Ferrara), whereupon Pan himself breaks into a panegyric of the labors of the Hercules of myth and of the achievements of this new Hercules who excels even the merits of his remote ancestor (the d'Este family was supposed to be descended from Charlemagne), at the end of which he presents his pipes to Poeman. The poem ends with a brief bucolic song from Poeman, practising upon the pipes for the first time. The whole pastoral is competent enough, but scarcely outstanding. It is true that the Latinity and versification of all Boiardo's pastorals are of a much higher calibre than what we find in his contemporary Mantuan's; but they are, on the whole, far less interesting: their only contemporary references are to the d'Este family and they lack Mantuan's vivid detail and occasional flashes of humor.

The framework of the sixth eclogue (*Herodia*) has a setting of a familiar type. The poet tells how at dawn he had been wandering near the

foot of a hill near Ferrara and had heard the shepherd Bargus singing the story of Italy from its earliest times; he sang of primitive Italy, of the arrival of Aeneas, and of the early kings and heroes of Rome, till at last he came to sing the praises of the Este family, especially of Ercole. The poem is a good deal more interesting than this summary would suggest, and shows rather more of both skill and tact than does the first.

In the ninth pastoral (*Hercules*) the two interlocutors are the shepherds Tityrus and Corydon; in this poem there is much more of the pastoral proper than in the first and sixth eclogues. Tityrus falls in with Corydon, who is taking to his master a magpie that he has taught to say *Ercole*. Tityrus sings the praises of Ercole, praising the peace and prosperity that attend his rule, urging Corydon (who replies in the *adynata* seemingly inseparable from pastoral) never to forget such a master, and suggesting that they sing Ercole's praises in amoebaean verse. Corydon replies that his gentle muse is not sufficiently strong to sing of Ercole's warlike triumphs and that he will sing another song that he has composed for his gracious master; here follows an exceedingly pretty spring-song and another less interesting song. In the distance they now catch sight of a solitary horseman, who proves to be *Sigismundus, Domini germanus* (97), and they hasten to overtake him.

The last of the ten eclogues (*Orpheus*) narrates the story of Hercules' loss of Hylas, and tells how Orpheus had tried to comfort the hero in song. The song itself (34–72) proves to be a prophecy of the future golden age in Italy under the beneficent rule of a namesake and descendant of Hercules. The remainder of the poem (73–100) is straightforward panegyric, celebrating the military exploits of Ercole d'Este in Calabria, Sicily, and elsewhere.

The fourth eclogue of Publio Fausto Andrelini (*ca.* 1462–1518) is a panegyric written shortly after December 1491. This poem, like Virgil's third bucolic and Calpurnius' sixth, takes the form of a singing-match between two unfriendly shepherds (Cedrus and Laurus) before an older shepherd (Pinus) who acts as judge. The poem begins with a quarrel between the two young shepherds and the arrival (45) of Pinus. They agree to have a singing-match and put up the usual sureties. Cedrus sings of the birth and accession (1483) of Charles VIII. In a shorter song Laurus sings of the glorious reign of Charles—his exploits in war, his marriage to Anne of Brittany, the peace and prosperity of his reign. Pinus, in lines 133–136, refuses to judge between the two songs, and urges both shepherds to join hands. Although—like most pastoral panegyrics—conven-

tional in form and full of reminiscences of Virgil, this poem makes livelier reading than the four poems of Boiardo discussed above, in which the constant allusions to the Hercules of myth grow tiresome.

Next we come to what is perhaps (so far as subject matter is concerned) the most interesting panegyric in the neo-Latin literature of Italy, an eclogue of 237 hexameters by Andrea Ammone[33] (fl. 1500) which hymns the praises of England, of the first Tudor king, and of his family. It was clearly written at the time of the betrothal[34] of Henry's youngest child, Mary, to the future Charles V.

Ammon (the poet himself, of course) greets Lycas, a new arrival from Italy, and tells him that he could not have arrived more opportunely; Lycas avows his happiness at having reached the peaceful sanctuary of England.

After much chat on the woes of Italy and the prosperity of England, there follows the main part of the poem, a panegyric of Henry VII and his family. This god who had been promised me in my prayers, says Ammon, far exceeds all my expectations. His eloquence is like Nestor's, his honor like that of the Decii; and he rules as did Codrus of Athens. This is followed by a description of Henry's career—his troubles as a young man, his defeat of 'the tyrant' (i.e., the Battle of Bosworth, 1485), the rebellion and execution of Perkin Warbeck, revolt in Ireland and at home. Lycas remarks sententiously that it is only with difficulty that a government achieves stability, comparing Henry with Romulus. Ammon agrees, and describes the final establishment of Tudor rule.

Ammon now turns to praises of Henry's family—his daughter Margaret, married (1502) to a *Scotus heros* (James IV) and now the mother of a child; his son Henry, married to a Spanish bride (Catherine of Aragon).

There remained, continues Ammon, but one child, Mary, now betrothed (1507) to a boy to whom Spain, Sardinia, Naples, Sicily, Flanders, Austria, Hungary, and Germany all owe allegiance. This is followed by a panegyric of Charles, of his dead father Philip, and of his

[33] Not mentioned in the *Enciel. ital.* or in Tiraboschi, but listed in *DNB.* Born in Lucca, he rose to be secretary *a libellis* of Henry VII of England (acceded 1485) by about 1500; on p. 281 of vol. II of *Delitiae poetarum Belgicorum* (Frankfort, 1614) appears a poem addressed to him by Erasmus; cf. *Opus epistolarum Erasmi*, ed. P. S. Allen, I, 455, correcting the account in *DNB.*

[34] The Treaty of Calais (1507) arranged for the marriage of Mary Tudor (1496–1533) to Charles (aged thirteen); the marriage was performed by proxy in 1508 but was never consummated. In 1514 Mary was married to Louis XII (d. 1515); in May 1515 she married the Earl of Suffolk: their daughter Frances was the mother of Lady Jane Grey.

grandfather (still living), the Emperor Maximilian. Ammon then suggests that they pray and seek refreshment, since (as Lycas reminds him) night is drawing on. They pray for the health and long life of Henry and also that he may undertake a holy war against the Turks so that at last Jerusalem may be free of the pagans.

Among the poems of the Venetian Andrea Navagero (1483–1529), the twentieth (*Damon*), an eclogue of 99 hexameters, proves to be in part a panegyric of Pope Julius II; throughout, it is a work which maintains the pastoral atmosphere as Ammon's does not even attempt to do.

The poem can be easily dated. On Easter Sunday 1512, a bloody battle was fought at Ravenna between the Holy League (consisting of the Papal Corps and the Spaniards) and the French army of Louis XII, led by Gaston de Foix and allied with Alfonso d'Este of Ferrara. De Foix was killed outright at the moment of victory, a victory gained largely through the accuracy of the French artillery. The papal captains surrendered; even the papal legate, Fabrizio Colonna, bearing the cross of Rome, was taken prisoner. Two months later, the situation was completely reversed, with the French in full flight and the desperate Duke of Ferrara begging for peace from the savage old man who occupied the throne of St. Peter. This is clearly the victory celebrated in Navagero's poem, entirely in terms of pastoral convention, of course.

Iolas, the fifth poem of Girolamo Amalteo (1507–58), is addressed to Michele della Torre, Bishop of Cneda. Like the poem just referred to, it adheres far more closely than Ammone's panegyric on Henry VII to pastoral form; unlike Navagero's poem, it is hardly worth reading: much pagan, mythological, and pastoral detail produces only a very mediocre panegyric of Bishop Michele.

Girolamo's seventh poem (*De Cometa*) is more interesting, being a panegyric in the form of a piscatory eclogue. At the end of a day's fishing two young men, Melisaeus and Alcon, are sailing home along with an older man called Melampus. As darkness overtakes them on the sea, they catch sight of a comet, and each has a different explanation for its appearance: Melisaeus says that it is a lock of his sweetheart's hair (transformed like the lock of Berenicê in Catullus); Alcon, who has recently lost his mother, is convinced that it presages more misfortune; but Melampus, wise in the science of Urania, tells them that the comet foretells peace at home and victory abroad under the leadership of one who is praised and addressed as *Hadriacae ductor clarissime gentis*: this is the Cardinal Commendone called *semideus* in *Carmen* iv.

More skilful is the fifth poem (*Silis*) of Girolamo's younger brother, Giovanni Battista Amalteo (1525–73), of which lines 64 to 81 form a restrained panegyric of Federico Savorgnan of Venice. In this poem the sea-god Silis appears before dawn from the waves and sings at length of the sun-god's love for Clymene, of the stories of Halcyone and Helle, of Venus and Adonis, of Arion, of Dodona, Ortygia, and the Nile. Then at last he sings of the power of Federico and the golden age of peace and prosperity that he is even then instituting for Venice. The theme is well-worn, if not threadbare, by Amalteo's time, yet as he handles it it seems if not fresh at least sincere.

Two poems by Giovanni Battista Pigna (Nicolucci) remain to be noticed. The fourth of his *Satyrae* is a poem of 72 hexameters entitled *Fatua*. Here the goddess of prophecy sings the praises of Florence in general and of the Medici family in particular: those eulogized are Cosimo (*Pater Patriae*), Piero (*il Gottoso*), Lorenzo the Magnificent, Giuliano (the Duke of Nemours), Popes Leo X (Giovanni de' Medici) and Clement VII (Giulio de' Medici), Alessandro (of doubtful parentage), Giovanni (i.e., Giovanni delle Bande Nere, the only soldier of the Medici family), and his son Cosimo I, Grand Duke of Tuscany (1519–74), for whom the poem was written. The panegyric is obviously a catalogue, but is worth examining for the skill with which Pigna can say the same thing over and over without verbal repetition.

The tenth *satyra* (*Salvius*: 530 hexameters) is one of the longest eclogues in Italian neo-Latin literature and certainly not one of the most rewarding. From all parts of Italy come shepherds to listen to Daphnis celebrate in song the birthday of one who proves to be Giovanni Salviati and prophesy for him a brilliant future: Salviati later became a cardinal of the church.

The theme of panegyric was employed, naturally, by German poets as well as the Italians, and among German neo-Latinists we may notice the work of Euricius Cordus (1486–1538), Elius Eobanus Hessus (1488–1540), Felix Fiedler (d. 1553), and Peter Lotich the younger (1528–60).

Of the ten eclogues of Euricius Cordus two are pastoral panegyrics. In the first the shepherd Faustulus remarks, as he trudges through the woods with Lycidas, on the rapid approach of winter. Lycidas laments that he has not enough food or fuel and fears that he may have to sell his flock. But, says Faustulus, I have heard that Eurynomus (i.e., Wilhelm, Margrave of Hesse) promised you and your fellow-shepherds aid. Lycidas admits that this is true enough; but Eurynomus has lately died. How-

ever, adds Lycidas more cheerfully, he has left a fine, upstanding son named Adonis (this refers to Philip of Hesse), who will surely aid our distress. Most of the rest of the poem is straightforward panegyric of the beauty, strength, and generosity of 'the Hessian Lion', expressed in amoebaean quatrains, with a final prophecy of the golden age that will soon set in.

Part of the second eclogue is panegyrical. In this poem Mopsus laments the poor rewards earned by poets and scholars in Germany. Aegon (Cordus himself) protests that he will not on that account desert the muses, especially as a better time is coming now that Duke Frederick is ruler of Saxony.

Among the seventeen eclogues of Elius Eobanus of Hesse (1488–1540) four are pastoral panegyrics. The sixteenth is a panegyric of the city[35] of Nuremberg; the first is a double panegyric of Hesse and Thuringia. The sixth sings the praises of Wilhelm and Philip very much as Cordus had, and the thirteenth forms 125 hexameters in praise of Philip alone. Eobanus praises in particular the military exploits of Philip in Denmark and Germany and urges him, now that peace has been established, to embrace the virtues more firmly than ever, reminding him (as do so many Renaissance Latin poets their patrons) that poetry can confer immortality; nor, he adds, need you seek your Virgil in foreign lands; Hesse can provide poets.

Among the minor Latin poems of Felix Fiedler[36] (d. 1553) appears one eclogue, addressed *ad Antonium Perrenotum, Episcopum Atrebatensem*. So little is known of Fiedler that it is quite impossible to interpret the references in the poem. Does Eurytus refer to Georg Sabinus? What German prince is meant by Philotas? There seem to be no indications of date whatever.

Much easier is the third eclogue of Peter Lotich the younger (1528–60), a panegyric of Kurfürst Otto Heinrich, to whom Lotich owed his appointment at the University of Heidelberg. In form, the poem is a

[35] The encomium (pastoral or not) of a city was a recognized genre of neo-Latin poetry; there are panegyrics of Genoa, Brescia, Venice, Florence, Siena, Cumae, Ercolano, Pesto, Naples, and other localities in the works of such poets as Tito Vespasiano Strozzi, Mantuan, Campano, Sabellico, Bonfadio, Ariosto, Bembo, D'Arco, Marcantonio Flaminio, Rota, and many others.

[36] Cf. Georg Ellinger, *Die neulateinische Lyrik Deutschlands* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1929), 294–295. Of his Latin poems (printed in the *Delitiae poetarum Germanorum*) the most ambitious are the dull *Fluminum Germaniae descriptio* (elegiac) and the duller *Eclipsis*, a description of the eclipse of 20 February 1551 (hexameters).

song sung by Nicer, the tutelary deity of the river Neckar. Nicer gives thanks to the sun-god that at last a worthy prince has appeared, one under whom a new golden age is to arise, under whom justice and liberty will once more flourish: no river will be so famed as the Neckar, not even Rhine or Danube or Elbe. The *Nicer* is by all odds the best written of the German panegyrics; Lotich is, after all, the only German neo-Latin bucolic poet who can compare with the best of the Italians.

(ii) A second use of the pastoral as vehicle, and one which naturally contains much panegyric, is its use as epithalamium. The more conventional sort is represented by the pastoral wedding-songs of Giambattista ('Cinzio') Giraldi[37] (1504–73). Among his *Sylvae* appear five eclogues of which no. 10 is an eclogue of 132 hexameters celebrating the wedding of Bartolommeo Prospero (one of the secretaries of Ercole d'Este) to a lady called Beatrice. Here a shepherd called Lycon sings the praises of Phyllis (i.e., Beatrice) and then those of Nisus, her betrothed. The setting is pastoral, but otherwise the poem is little more than a reworking of an elegiac epithalamium (*Sylva* v) written a few months earlier for another Ferrara wedding.

Giraldi's *Sylva* xi is again a pastoral epithalamium, this time celebrating the marriage of Francesco (nephew of Alessandro) Guarino to a lady called *Ursina Malchiavella*; in this poem it is Pan who praises the groom Alcon and the nymphs who praise his lady, the fair Alcippe. Incidentally, one reason that this poem shows greater evidence of care than the preceding is that Ursina's sister Fulvia had married Giraldi himself.

Less conventional, but not necessarily more attractive, is the rhetorical sort of pastoral epithalamium in which the panegyric of bride and groom becomes, as in the prose wedding-orations of Francesco Filelfo, an exercise in genealogy. An example occurs in Peter Lotich's sixth eclogue, a pastoral epithalamium of no less than 647 hexameters on the marriage of Johann Wilhelm, Duke of Saxony, to the Hessian princess Dorothea. It begins with a laudatory history of the groom's family from remotest antiquity, and then proceeds with a similar account of the bride's family

[37] Biographical details in G. Toffanin, *Il Cinquecento* (ed. 4, Milan, 1949), 507–512 and cf. 518, n. 11, and 519, n. 29; cf. bibliographical references in the *Encicl. ital.*, *sub nom.* His Latin poems appear in *Cynthii Ioannis Baptistae Gyraldi Poemata* (Ferrara, 1537); these include an epicedion on the death of Alfonso d'Este, possibly the most florid neo-Latin poem ever written, a panegyric of Ercole d'Este, celebrating his accession, twenty miscellaneous poems making up the *Sylvarum liber*, eight elegies, and 110 epigrams, many of little but historical interest and most little better than competent verse-composition of the sort that any classical instructor should be able to turn out without too great difficulty.

from pagan Teutonic times, thus following Filelfo's pattern exactly. The poem then proceeds with a lengthy description of the lavish preparations for the wedding and good wishes for the couple (thus reproducing Filelfo's pattern once more), and closes with a happy omen from the skies at the end of the singing of the marriage-hymn. At first sight the reader may be appalled at all this elaboration; but if he will once plunge into this poem he will find much to attract him.

If panegyric is common in epithalamia and golden-age poems, it is only natural that it should be equally characteristic of pastoral dirges written to commemorate the deaths of contemporaries.

(iii) Among the Italian neo-Latin poets one of the earliest to use this form of bucolic was Giano Anisio of Naples. Anisio's first eclogue (*Melisaeus*) is clearly a pastoral lament for the death of Giovanni Pontano (which dates the poem easily at 1503), supposedly uttered by Giovanni Cotta (1479/80–1510?/20?), itself preceded by a few neat lines praising Cotta himself:

> Cotta, tuo ingenio blandae arrisere Camenae,
> nascentique tibi stillarunt dulcia mella
> Cecropiae volucres. lauro tu dignus et ara,
> et cui viventi pastores dona quotannis
> persolvamus, et inde deum post Pana colamus. (24–28)

One of the Latin poems of Baldassare Castiglione[38] (1478–1529) can also be assigned to this category. Among his works[39] appears a pastoral dirge of 155 Latin hexameters called *Alcon*. Since this poem is highly characteristic of the pastoral dirge, and since it is known to have had a strong influence on Milton's *Epitaphium Damonis*, it is worth giving a rather full summary of its contents. In the *Alcon* the death of a young man of that name is mourned by the fauns and dryads, by Pan and Apollo, and especially by Iolas, who now neglects his flocks and wanders inconsolably in the woods (1–23). Iolas' lament then follows: What god can have taken you from us, Alcon? With you all beauty has perished, for without you trees lose their leaves, meadows their charm, springs their water; all nature, and even the gods themselves, will mourn your death (24–52). Yet the Fates are unmoved; although cut grain will grow again, there is no return for the dead, and tears and prayers are vain (53–67).

[38] Biographical details in G. M. Mazzuchelli, *Baldassare Castiglione* (Rome, 1879).

[39] The only complete edition is *Opere volgari e latine del Conte Baldassare Castiglione* (Padua, 1733); most of the Latin poems appear in the *Delitiae poetarum Italorum* and a few are printed in the *Poemata selecta Italorum* (Oxford, 1808).

Never again shall I see you compete in sports or hear you sing; never again shall we serenade your Lycoris or my Galatea, though we grew up together and held all things in common. Why was I, unlike Leucippus, away from home when you died and were buried (68–132)? Now that my hopes are vain, may the gods at least grant that your spirit may visit me as I scatter the narcissus, rose, and hyacinth upon your grave (133–155).

This poem was written in memory of a young Mantuan named Falcone, who had been a constant companion of Castiglione in Urbino. His death occurred in 1505; but the poem appears to have been written several years later. Iolas is Castiglione himself; Galatea represents Elisabetta Gonzaga, *sui aevi mulierum forma, virtute, pudicitia facile princeps*, Leucippus represents Girolamo Castiglione, the poet's brother, who himself died in 1506, the year of Baldassare Castiglione's mission to England.

One pastoral of Marco Girolamo Vida (1480?–1566) is a dirge-eclogue or at least partially so—the third of the pastorals published in the *Carmina minora*. In this poem Damon (i.e., the secular world) tries to recall the nymph Nicê (i.e., Vittoria Colonna)[40] from her laments over the death of her lover Davalus.[41] This is the best of the three pastorals published in this collection—the first is repetitious and lachrymose, the second a jumble. The third is well-written: it avoids the besetting sin of dirges, epithalamia, and panegyrics—excessive length.

The same cannot be said for another of Vida's pastorals, published separately.[42] This is a bucolic lament in no less than 539 hexameters over the death (21 February 1513) of Pope Julius II, the hero of Vida's unfinished epic, the *Juliad*. Vida himself has said all that need be said about this poem, in his dedicatory letter to Cardinal della Rovere: it is too long, it is too rhetorical, and it borrows too heavily from Virgil.

Three anonymous eclogues[43] on the death (1547) of Cardinal Pietro Bembo are not especially rewarding; even less so is Cinzio Giraldi's *Sylva* IX (written 1536), an unspectacular pastoral lament; in fact it is such that any reader would be quick to agree with Toffanin's general judg-

[40] For this identification cf. the eighth poem of Niccolò d'Arco (1479–1546) printed in the *Poemata sel. Ital.*, and also Marcantonio Flaminio, *Carmina* I, 33.

[41] I.e., Hernando d'Avalos, Marquess of Pescara.

[42] *Carmen pastorale* (probably Rome, 1513, according to the Bodleian catalogue), a pamphlet of 22 pages.

[43] *Eclogae tres incerti autoris* published in vol. III of the Basel ed. (1567) of Bembo's Latin works, pp. 174–186.

ment of Giraldi: 'Degno allievo del Calcagnini, egli più che un letterato puro avrebbe voluto essere un dotto; riuscì, invece, in ogni campo un dilettante'.[44]

We can now turn and examine briefly some dirge-eclogues by three Germans (Eobanus, Lotich, and Georg Bersman) and one Dutchman (Janus Dousa the younger).

Eobanus' sixth eclogue is entitled *Epitaphium Iolae*. The setting is a conventional lament uttered by two shepherds, Meleterus and Daphnis. Daphnis laments the widespread devastation resulting from the death of the good shepherd Iolas, and describes the power and influence Iolas had once had, not only in Hesse but also in all lands through which flow the Elbe and Rhine. He goes on to describe the grief of Iolas' wife, but comforts himself and Meleterus with the thought of the excellence and virtues of Iolas' son. At this point Meleterus breaks into a brief panegyric of the son and prophesies joy for the future. Comparison of this eclogue with others by Eobanus and Cordus makes it quite obvious that Iolas is Wilhelm, father of Philip of Hesse.

Lotich's fifth eclogue is a pastoral lament for the recent death of a German friend who had evidently lived part of his life in Italy and had met his death by drowning. Beyond this one can go no farther in identifying the subject of the poem: Lotich's fifth eclogue remains as mysterious today as it no doubt was to any one in the sixteenth century who was not himself one of Lotich's intimates.

Georg (or Gregor) Bersman[45] was a prolific Latin poet. In his second collection of epicedia (*Epic.* II. iii) appears an eclogue called *Alcon*, addressed *ad Christophorum Carolovicium*; it is a pastoral reworking of *Epicedia* II. ii. Here Corydon and Damon lament the death of Alcon. Corydon's song comes first with the recurrent refrain *dicite Elistriades lugubria carmina Musae*, and Damon's follows, with the refrain *incipe funesti carmen mea tibia cantus*. The conclusion (125–129) in the mouth of the poet is,

> at tu (si quis honor) grata mihi semper avena
> pastores inter divos [i.e., the saints] celebraberis, Alcon;
> Alconem nemus omne canet, montesque sonabunt,
> Alconem pulsae referent ad sidera valles:
> sis bonus o placidusque tuo nos respice vultu.

[44] *Op. cit.*, 571; cf. *Renaissance News* IX (1956), 189–192.

[45] Biographical details in *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie* II, 506–507. Besides commentaries on Horace, Virgil, Ovid, and Lucan, he published volumes of *Poemata* and *Orationes* (both Leipzig, 1576).

This is a pleasant poem, indeed, but one must be careful to render unto Virgil what is Virgil's, as the reader will have already observed from the few lines quoted. As to Alcon himself, he is easily to be identified as the well-known humanist, diplomat, and professor Joachim Camerarius (d. 1574).

We can end this examination of pastoral dirges by glancing at a poem by Janus Dousa the younger[46] (Jan van der Does, 1571–96/7). Among his works[47] appears one pastoral lament, entitled *Daphnis;* it is clearly a dirge on the death of Sir Philip Sidney at the Battle of Zutphen (1586). The song of Lycidas, as he stood by the banks of the Thames, describes the conventional situations and introduces the conventional themes; nevertheless it is typical of the work of the *poetae Belgici* at its best: it is not too long, it is not excessively panegyrical, it is not maudlin. It is expressed with all the self-conscious virtuosity of the neo-Latin *littérateur* but for all that is as sincere and honest as any Englishman's lament over Sidney. And of course the fact that Dousa laments the death of Sidney is typical of the international quality of all neo-Latin literature.

(iv) A little less common, perhaps, than one might have thought—it became commoner in the mid-seventeenth century—is the religious and devotional eclogue of one sort or another. Earliest and least interesting here is Baptista Mantuanus (1448–1516), of whose ten eclogues two concern us. In the seventh two shepherds named Alphus and Galbula tell how a young man named Pollux was warned in a vision by the Virgin Mary of the dangers of the secular world and advised to turn to the safe retreat of Mount Carmel (i.e., the Carmelite Order, of which Mantuan eventually became vicar-general in 1513). The sixteenth-century commentator Ascensius assumes that Pollux is Mantuan himself, and he has been followed in this by most subsequent critics. W. P. Mustard (p. 140) objects that this is unlikely, as the poem was written before Mantuan actually entered the order; but the early date of the poem seems an excellent reason for thinking Ascensius' view probable: a young man who has at last made up his mind and is on the very brink of becoming a religious would be very likely to write just such a poem as the present one. It may be objected that Mantuan, who clearly was fond of his father,[48]

[46] Biographical details in *Biographie universelle* XI, 274–275.

[47] Besides various commentaries on and editions of classical authors, Dousa wrote *Rerum caelestium liber primus* (all published of a work to have been in five books; Leyden, 1591–92); *Poemata* (the most complete edition is that of G. Rabus, Rotterdam, 1704); *Epistulae apologeticae* (Leyden, 1593).

[48] Mantuan's prose treatise *De vita beata* is dedicated to his father in terms of closest affection (*ego enim te mihi cariorem inter mortales habeo neminem*).

would scarcely have referred to Pollux's father as 'harsh and pitiless'; but such intentional failures (some tactless, as here) to maintain exact parallelism with the author's own circumstances are common enough in classical and neo-Latin pastoral.

Mantuan's eighth eclogue is a sort of appendix to the seventh. It explains (what is already obvious) that the 'nymph' who had appeared to Pollux had been none other than the Virgin Mary herself, and follows this explanation with a panegyric of her power and generosity and with a long list and description of those days which must be kept sacred in her honor, a theme which was evidently congenial to Mantuan, as it was later extended, in the *De sacris diebus*, to a complete calendar of saints' days, written in the manner of Ovid's *Fasti*.

All twelve of the published eclogues of Antonio Geraldini[49] (*ca.* 1457–*ca.* 1489) are devotional (*bucolica sacra*). These were first published in Rome in 1485 after being written hastily between 1 January and 15 February 1484 at Saragossa: this means that Geraldini must have produced an average of two eclogues a week and twenty-five hexameters a day (1155 lines in 45 days). His method of composition was not Virgil's or Tennyson's, then; but for all that he was not so high-speed a composer as Mantuan. Even so, the quality of Geraldini's verse is better than one would have expected, and the standard of his actual Latinity is remarkably high, especially in comparison with Mantuan's. As for the poems themselves, of course the story of the shepherds of Bethlehem readily suggested pastoral treatment of the birth of Christ and this would in turn encourage similar treatment of other Biblical themes.

The first poem lists the Old Testament prophecies of Christ's ministry. The second narrates the arrival of the three shepherds Granicus, Battus, and Micon (representing the Magi Gaspar, Balthasar, and Melchior). The last half of the poem is a dialogue in which each of the three describes in turn the gift he brings—gold as a symbol of royal power, frankincense as a symbol of the new rites of Christianity, myrrh for the crucified body of Christ. In the third poem Joseph and Mary lament the dis-

[49] Biographical details in Tiraboschi, VI, iii, 992–993; W. P. Mustard, *The Eclogues of Antonio Geraldini* (Baltimore, 1924), introd.; not mentioned in the *Enciclopedia italiana*. There is one other eclogue known, a genealogy of the Geraldini family, in MS Vat. Lat. 6940, ff. 60–63; so far as I have been able to learn, the poem is still unpublished. Geraldini's verses include an early group of twenty-three odes (1469?), twelve poems described as epodes that are actually hymns and psalms, and two books of odes (1486) dedicated to John of Aragon and Cardinal Mendoza. His eclogues, like those of Mantuan, were widely used in schools (especially in Germany) in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

appearance of their twelve-year-old son, only to discover him in the Temple. The woodenness and naïveté of the dialogue is more reminiscent of medieval mystery than of classical pastoral; as for Jesus' replies to his mother's reproaches, they have a painfully priggish tone. The fourth eclogue describes the fasting and temptation of Jesus, using the names Iolas and Charon. As in the third poem, there is practically nothing which is truly pastoral, either in detail or in general *mise en scène*. But in the fourth poem, the introduction, at least, is conventionally pastoral: Lynceus praises the charms of spring, and suggests to Atys and Parthenius that they contend in song for a prize, the subject being the miracles of Christ. Eclogue six deals with the institution of the Eucharist, Eclogue seven with the betrayal, trial, and crucifixion of Christ; the seventh poem is *called* an eclogue by the author and Christ is referred to throughout as Daphnis,[50] but otherwise pastoral elements are non-existent.

In the eighth poem Aegle (i.e., Mary Magdalene) laments the death of Acanthus, who appears to her as a gardener and then vanishes. Most of this, like a good deal of Geraldini's work, is little better than versified New Testament narrative; but it does contain some fine lines here and there. The ninth eclogue is almost unique among neo-Latin pastorals in that it has a chorus (i.e., the disciples). In this poem on the Ascension Athanatus upbraids the disciples for their disbelief or weakness of faith and prophesies his own ascension; the chorus contritely affirm their belief, and recall Old Testament prophecies of the Ascension.

In the tenth eclogue Geraldini follows the medieval tradition according to which each of the twelve apostles contributed one article of the Creed. In lines 1–30 the apostles are described as meeting on the day of Pentecost; in lines 31–78 the poet describes (sometimes in a highly allusive manner) each apostle and his contribution in a series of quatrains. Of pastoral there is nothing. Nor is there anything to remind us of Arcadia in no. 11 (*The Last Judgment*), in which Geraldini describes the gathering of nations, the appearance of Christ (who, surprisingly, is referred to as 'inexorable'), the final judgment, the fate of sinners, and the joy of the saved. The twelfth poem, however, has a pastoral setting and introduces many conventional pastoral details—it describes the golden age of the future when there shall be a new heaven and a new earth: we ourselves, says Lycus, shall enjoy that golden age provided that our faith is supported by works: *dum manifesta fides operum ratione probetur* (99).

Among the earlier French neo-Latinists I have so far seen only one de-

[50] But Judas, Barabbas, Pilate, and others retain their own names.

votional pastoral, that by Sébastien Châteillon[51] (1515–36). In this a shepherd named Sirillus describes to Damon the events of the night before—the appearance of the angel who told of the birth of Christ at Bethlehem (*gaudia magna fero vobis populoque futura*: 16), the songs of the heavenly host, the shepherds' adoration of Christ. The poem closes with a hymn to the power and gentleness of the Saviour, and Damon leaves (82–89) to see for himself the divine Child.

Among German poets we should mention in this connection Cordus, Eobanus, and Bersman, all of whom we have met earlier. In Cordus' seventh eclogue a shepherd named Pius drives out his flock to pasture: he is unable to attend church but will pray in the fields instead. The remainder of the poem consists of prayers to Christ and the Virgin Mary, of Pius' hopes for heaven, and of panegyric of the power of the Almighty. The tone of much of this, for all the Ovidian versification, is highly medieval, and even the diction is strongly reminiscent not of classical pastoral but rather of medieval hymn. And the anti-Jewish sentiment is noteworthy.

A far superior production is Eobanus' fourth eclogue. Its framework is consciously classical: two young men, Tityrus and Battus, forgather in the shade of a beech-tree; they catch sight of an older shepherd called Thrasybulus, and ask him to be judge of their contest in song. Battus puts up a fine bow as a wager, and describes its virtues at length; Tityrus similarly puts up a shepherd's pipe and similarly describes *his* wager. Then follows the amoebaean song in alternating groups, first of five- and then of four-line stanzas. Battus sings the praises of the Creator, while Tityrus sings those of the Virgin Mary. This is one of Eobanus' pleasantest eclogues: the lines on the Virgin are especially light and attractive and the hexameters have a lyrical quality rare among German neo-Latin poets.

Georg Bersman wrote three devotional eclogues, none of which is so good as his pastoral dirge described earlier. All three exhibit the same fault—reminiscence of classical authors so close as to amount either to

[51] Biographical details in *Biographie universelle* VII, 152–154. His major works are a translation of the Bible into Ciceronian Latin (Basel, 1551)—Bembo would have preferred this to the Vulgate's *nugae*; a similar translation of the *Imitatio Christi* (Basel, 1563); various translations of vernacular French and German works into Latin: for the purpose of such translations cf. two essays of mine in *Phoenix* VIII (1954), 64–70, and *Studies in the Renaissance* (*Publications of the Renaissance Society of America*) I (1954), 120–156; much more interesting to the modern reader than any of the above are: *De haereticis* (Madgeburg, 1554); and *Moses latinus* (Basel, 1546), an attack on the death penalty for criminals.

plagiarism or parody. In the first poem two Hebrew shepherds, Simeon and Judas, watch their flocks by night. It is midnight, and they alternate songs in praise of the new-born Christ and of the golden age of faith which is to come. In the second, the shepherds Josias and Banaias describe the crucifixion, the darkness that fell on earth, the earthquake, storms at sea, and storms in heaven: *tantae molis erat lapsam instaurare salutem* (68). This is followed by a song of joy describing Christ's return from the dead and the promise of salvation for believers. The third poem is the narrative type of eclogue: Iosias tells of the creation, Adam and Eve, the early history of the Jews, the Egyptian bondage, the journey to Canaan, the prophets, the birth, ministry, and life of Christ, and the mission of the apostles. It is a pity that it is so dull a poem.

(v) Among satirical or controversial eclogues many have a religious theme. Mantuan's ninth, for instance, is a bitingly effective satire on the morals and manners of the papal Curia at Rome, and, as Mustard points out in his commentary, is no doubt based on some of Mantuan's own experiences when, as Carmelite general, he had occasion to negotiate with members of the Curia. One should add that the poem probably influenced the September eclogue of *The Shepheards Calender* and *Lycidas*. The tenth and last of Mantuan's eclogues deplores the schism within the Carmelite Order and counsels a return to the good old ways observed by the Discalced Carmelites since 1459.

Cordus' sixth eclogue assails the tithe-system and the greed and luxury of some priests, particularly the mendicant Franciscans: *isti plus aliis nequam, perversior ordo,* | *quem penes omne scelus, vitium, crimenque fovetur* (204–205). But at the time of writing this poem Cordus was himself still a Catholic and a supporter of Erasmus' point of view. It is a vigorous piece of writing and well worth reading.

By far the most unsparing satirical eclogue in neo-Latin literature is the *Romulus* of the German poet Eucharius Synesius[52] (fl. ante 1546). Its 171 hexameters are the lament of the shepherd Romulus (i.e., Pope Leo X): he laments the loss of his prestige among all the shepherds he knows, and describes how a new shepherd named Catharus[53] has usurped his position. The old settlers (priests) are forced to migrate; their farms are empty, or are put to new uses. Romulus considers suicide, but yawns, and falls asleep before he can decide upon the method.[54]

[52] Not in *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, *Biographie universelle*, or Ellinger.

[53] Luther used Aretius Catharus ('Virtuous Pure') as a pen name at least once.

[54] Among satirical eclogues we should not forget to mention Mantuan's fourth, a satire

(vi) Finally, we come to a miscellaneous and numerous group of eclogues which can be most easily described as contemporary and personal. Here we shall examine five Italian, six German, and two French poets.

The earliest Italian here is Giambattista Cantalicio[55] (1450–1515). Among his extensive Latin works[56] there appears only one eclogue that I have been able to discover.[57] In a dedicatory epistle at the head of the twelfth book of the *Epigrams*, the poet describes the eclogue as 'an allegorical eclogue about the Tuscan War, which my invincible master, the Duke of Calabria, Alfonso, and the Duke of Urbino, Federico, waged against the Florentines' (i.e., in 1478–79). In this poem a wandering Tuscan shepherd, Battus, describes the woes of his country—the attacks by land and sea, the devastation of the Arno valley, the flight of shepherds to Liguria and even Illyria. His Umbrian friend Phosphorus enquires the names of the leaders and Battus glumly describes the military prowess of Alfonso and Federico. There is little that is remarkable in this poem; it displays Cantalicio's usual fluency—it also displays his occasional use of medieval diction and lapses into false quantities.

Most of the twelve eclogues of Publio Fausto Andrelini fall into this category. In this group (i, ii, vi–xi) we learn of Andrelini's decision to leave Italy for the greener pastures of France, of his hopes of patronage from Guillaume de Rochefort and Chiara Gonzaga, of his early lack of success in France, of his eventual success under Charles VIII and Louis XII, of his feud with Girolamo Balbi in the early 1490s. All this, of course, is clothed in bucolic convention; the picture of Andrelini's character that emerges is less attractive than the author intended it to be.

We can pass over two of the eclogues of Giano Anisio that belong to this group, two of Cinzio Giraldi's, three of Euricius Cordus', and no-

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on women which repeats all or nearly all of the well-known medieval charges against that greatly-abused sex. Its most remarkable feature is a versified string of adjectives (124–131) put into the mouth of a shepherd, who, incidentally, represents Mantuan's old teacher Gregorio Tifernate (Gregorio da Città di Castello, *ca.* 1414–*ca.* 1464).

[55] Biographical details in Rossi, *Il Quattrocento* (ed. 4, Milan, 1949), 388–389; *Encicl. ital.* VIII, 772, and works, cited there, by Mirici, Picci, and Croce.

[56] His works include (besides an excellent school Latin grammar, commentaries on Juvenal, Persius, and other authors) an epic in four books called *Gonsalvia, sive de bis recepta Parthenope* (Naples, 1506); *Cantalycii Epigrammatum libri xii* (Venice, 1493), on which Sabbadini (*Encicl. ital., loc. cit.*) writes, 'La sola parte viva delle sue poesie è nei dodici libri di epigrammi, pieni di brio e di arguti motteggi, di brevi scene giocose, di complimenti garbati; essi sono una fonte preziosa e immediata del costume contemporaneo.'

[57] *Epigr.* XII, ii (the text is much disturbed, and there are many incomplete lines); Sabbadini (*loc. cit.*) speaks of *egloghe*.

tice two of Eobanus'. Eobanus' twelfth is so filled with allusion, artifice, and pastoral convention that it is difficult to interpret, especially as its exact date is quite uncertain. It seems most likely, however, that when Melisaeus complains to Polyphemus and Agavus of younger shepherds' abandoning the countryside, thinking meanly of pastoral song, and seeking honors to be found only in cities, the poet is making the complaint, common in neo-Latin literature everywhere in Europe, that students tend to abandon the humanities for law and medicine. It is conceivable, though unlikely, that the reference is to the emigration of students from the University of Erfurt to Wittenberg.

But the subject of the seventeenth poem (*Erphurdia: De collapso Scholae et Reipublicae statu*) would be unmistakable even if this long pastoral were not supplied with a title. The nymph Erysiptolis and the river-god Hieras lament the empty halls of the University of Erfurt, the disappearance of free speech, the attacks of Luther's clergy on humanism, and the devastation suffered by Hesse in war.

The *Erphurdia* has much in common with Peter Lotich's second eclogue, which describes the devastation of northern Germany: foreign soldiers have looted and destroyed cities, an *impius hostis* now rules where Viburnus (Lotich himself), Lycidas, and Acron used to hunt:

> barbarus in nostris regnans agit otia silvis:
> nos procul expulsi: rapido loca torrida ab aestu
> litoraque usta siti et vacuas lustramus arenas. (35–37)

There is nothing to date the poem precisely; but it seems probable that it was Lotich's experiences as a soldier at the Battle of Mühlberg (1547) that inspired the poem; his detestation of soldiering and soldiers remained with him throughout his life.

Two more eclogues on contemporary subjects are by Georg Sabinus[58] of Brandenburg (1508–60) and Johann Stigel[59] of Gotha (1515–62);

[58] Biographical detail in *Allg. deutsche Biogr.* XXX, 107–111, and (with an elaborate consideration of his Latin lyrics) Adalbert Schroeter, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der neulateinischen Poesie Deutschlands und Hollands* (Berlin, 1909), 129–152. Sabinus' original Latin works appear in the *Delitiae poetarum Germanorum* and in *Poemata Georgii Sabini Brandeburgensis* (Leipzig, 1581); the most important are the six books of elegies, especially those addressed to Anna Melanchthon (Book III).

[59] Biographical details in Schroeter, *op. cit.*, 152–164; the difference between Sabinus and Stigel is succinctly put on p. 152: 'Sein Freund Stigelius war ihm unzweifelhaft überlegen an moralischer Stärke und religiöser Tiefe, nicht aber an Vielseitigkeit und Leuchtkraft des poetischen Talents'; cf. further G. Manacorda, *Della poesia latina in Germania durante il Rinascimento* (Rome, 1906). His Latin poems appear in *Poematum Ioannis Stigelii libri* (Jena, 1566–72); there are also a large number of miscellaneous hymns, letters, verse-prayers, and the like.

both poems deal with the same events. In Sabinus' pastoral a German shepherd named Lycidas meets an Italian from Mantua called Aegon and asks him what has driven him so far from home; Aegon replies that it was 'fierce monsters' that had driven him from the wealth he had once enjoyed. In reply to Lycidas' further questioning, Aegon tells him that far away where the Sequana (Saône) twists and turns there is a royal garden where grow golden lilies (those of France, that is) guarded by a cock (*gallus*, i.e., *Gallus*, i.e., François I), a bird as powerful as Jove's eagle. Near the banks of the Po, however, there is a serpent (i.e., Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan), guardian of the Insubrian land. The cock conceived a deadly hatred for the serpent, flew over the Alps, and devastated the whole valley of the Po: *tanta fuit rabies ac tanta ferocia galli* (65). But at length (continues the shepherd) there appeared from the Vindelican Alps the queen of birds, the eagle, *Iovi quae tela ministrat* (70). The eagle (i.e., the troops of Charles V) then attacked Gallus by the waters of the Ticino; they tore at each other with beak and claw until Gallus was at last defeated (the Battle of Pavia, 24 February 1525, at which François was captured). The eagle then carried off Gallus and set him down in the land of Hercules (the reference is to François' imprisonment in a tower in Madrid). Yet Gallus escaped (François was released by the Treaty of Madrid, 14 January 1526), goes on Aegon, and returned to Italy more savage than ever, assisted now by the Bear (*Ursus*, i.e., Henry VIII: the reference is to Lautrec's invasion of Italy with an army of 30,000 men subsidized by England; the army was officially called *exercitus Angliae et Galliae regum*, although it actually contained no English troops): the gods of the Eridanus (Po) and Ticinus were terrified, as was even Parthenope (Naples) herself. Now that these two monsters have joined forces, says Aegon, I have come here with my three goats, the survivors of my hundred flocks. The poem is not difficult to understand today and would, of course, have been crystal-clear to any contemporary anywhere in Europe (unlike the mass of symbolism and cryptic allegory in Petrarch's eclogues). And it should be added that this eclogue is not merely a mildly entertaining puzzle; it is worth reading for its own sake.

Stigel's poem *Iolas* deals in almost identical fashion with the same historical events. It describes how Iolas defeated and captured the Cacus of the Saône, only to find him still hostile and dangerous after his release; the poem contains a warning to the bear that Iolas is arming against him.

The *Delphinus* of Gilbert Ducher (fl. 1520), like Sabinus' and Stigel's poems, also turns history into a sort of beast-fable. Here the shepherd

Moeris tells Meliboeus how his native land had always been blessed with magnificent rivers whose waters were full of every sort of fish. And in the Rhône, near the *arces Turnonis* (Lyons), was a dolphin (*delphinus*, i.e., *Delphinus*, Dauphin) which he had hoped would be the finest in the world and would rule all waters from the Loire to Naples. But a certain Austrian shepherd came from Spain and egged on a Spanish subordinate to catch the dolphin with a poisoned hook and poisoned water. Meliboeus exclaims that this must be the reason for the various dire portents observed at Marseilles; but night is falling and it is time to return home for fear of wolves. This all refers to the death of François de Valois, eldest son of François I. He died, presumably of pleurisy, as a result of drinking too much cold water after a game of tennis. Suspicion fell upon Count Sebastiano Montecucoli of Ferrara (an amateur student of poisons), who was believed to be an agent of Charles V's two generals, Antonio de Leyva and Ferdinando Gonzaga. The unhappy Ferrarese was publicly torn apart by horses, in the presence of the king, the court, and the ladies of the court, on 7 October 1536.

This fourth essay brings to a close[60] our examination of the use of Latin pastoral from 1300 to 1600. The poems we have discussed vary greatly in style as in content; some are excellent, others barely worth reading. But in any case it is abundantly clear that pastoral was one of the most popular of all forms of neo-Latin poetry.

A number of questions have been left unanswered, from want of space. What caused this remarkable and long-continued vogue? What happened to it in the baroque era? Can we regard the Renaissance Latin pastoral or any particular type of the Renaissance Latin pastoral as an independently valuable creation? Among the 200-odd writers of Latin pastoral from the mid-fourteenth to the beginning of the eighteenth century, how many wrote trash? How much of later Renaissance Latin pastoral is inspired by classical models and how much by earlier neo-Latinists? How much influence did Renaissance Latin pastoral exert on the vernacular literatures of Italy, France, and England in particular? Any one of these questions could form the subject of a small article.

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[60] Not entirely; there is also a minor lyric form called the 'pastoral toy' (*lusus pastoralis*) developed by Andrea Navagero and Marcantonio Flaminio; this is discussed in a brief forthcoming article in *Medievalia et Humanistica*.

The Authorship of the *Vita Anonyma* of Leon Battista Alberti

THE *Vita anonyma*[1] of Leon Battista Alberti published in 1751 by Lorenzo Mehus is undoubtedly the finest source for the character as well as the life of this versatile thinker of the early Renaissance. It is a document of individualism, pride, and hope—so much so that Burckhardt merely had to restate its contents to make of Alberti's life a veritable *paradeigma* of Renaissance character as he saw it.[2]

Students of Alberti have long discussed the question, who wrote this remarkable biography? Bonucci, in 1844, publishing it again as part of the *Opere volgari* of Alberti, claimed that the *Vita* was actually an autobiography, disguised, of course, by the use of the third person.[3] His reasons for this assertion were primarily the references to intimate and private experiences or attitudes of Alberti—that he liked to sing, for instance, but only in the country when with his family, that he had not studied music formally, but had given good advice to professional musicians, that his illness in 1428 came on suddenly while he was reading, with intestinal cramps and distortion of vision and ringing in the ears, etc. Mancini, the greatest of Alberti scholars and the chief biographer, tentatively agreed with Bonucci,[4] but he gave no further arguments, and the point remained moot for most future writers.

As Bonucci had been unable to prove the positive, Hubert Janitschek[5] was unable to make a completely convincing case for the negative. In at-

[1] Leonis Baptistae Alberti *Vita anonyma*, ed. Laurentius Mehus (*Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* XXV, Milan, 1751), pp. 295–303. Quotations and references in this paper are made without page references because the *Vita* is so brief.

[2] Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* (New York, 1950), pp. 86–87.

[3] Leon Battista Alberti, *Opere volgari*, ed. Anicio Bonucci (Florence, 1844–49), I, LXXXIX.

[4] Girolamo Mancini, *Vita di Leon Battista Alberti* (Florence, 1882), p. 557. This question is not discussed in the revised edition of 1911.

[5] Hubert Janitschek, 'Alberti-Studien', *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* VI (1883), 38 ff.

tacking the view of Bonucci and Mancini, Janitschek first destroyed effectively the idea that there was external evidence that Alberti had left a book of 'Ricordi'. Bonucci's assertion to this effect had been based on misquotations and misunderstandings. Janitschek further described the manuscript (Bibl. del Palazzo Roselli 212), which contains, in a hand of the fifteenth century but not Alberti's, the *Vita*, and the *De Porcaria conjuratione* by Alberti. Discussing style and content, Janitschek pointed to the tone of apology characteristic of the work, that is, the concern with Alberti's character rather than with his concrete achievements. To Janitschek this indicates an admirer rather than Alberti himself as author, especially when considered in conjunction with what he calls the 'lack of information' evinced by the author. This ignorance is primarily conspicuous in the mention of numerous insignificant works while the *De re aedificatoria*, *Momus*, *Della tranquilità del'animo*, and *Theogenio* are left out. Ignorance is also apparent, according to Janitschek, in the vagueness of the phrase 'scripsit libellos de pictura' (Alberti wrote three small books forming a single treatise circulated as *De pictura* or as *Della pittura* and one called *Elementi di pittura*), in the astonishment with which the 'miracles of painting' achieved by Alberti with the help of his *camera scura* are described, and in the lack of any technical details concerning this marvellous invention. Janitschek adds that the many intimate details of the portrait only show the extent to which Alberti's extraordinary (even *daimonischer*) character impressed those about him. Janitschek takes as a reference to sources, given in good faith, the author's remark that 'there were some who collected his numerous serious and jocular remarks', and he feels that the third person and the past tense, extending even to the verb *vixit* ('Vixit cum invidis et malivolentissimis tanta modestia, & aequanimitate . . .'), were used because the author was in fact not Alberti and because he did in fact write after Alberti's death. Finally, Janitschek is impressed by Massainus' preface to his 1511 edition of Alberti's *Opera*,[6] which describes an old friend of Alberti's who had helped Massainus gain an impression of the great humanist. This friend's interest in Alberti's character and enthusiastic admiration for Alberti's will power, asceticism, and noble self-control could suggest him as author of the *Vita*.

After Janitschek there have been no significant contributions to the negative side of the case, but as the controversy continued in mild form (Pellegrini in his 1911 edition of *Della famiglia*,[7] for instance, strongly re-

[6] Leonis Baptistae Alberti, *Opera*, ed. Hieronymus Massainus (Paris, 1511).

[7] Leon Battista Alberti, *Della famiglia*, ed. F. C. Pellegrini (Florence, 1911), v–vi.

asserted the negative; Michel in 1930 tried to reassess the positive side and concluded that the evidence was inadequate for a positive decision[8]) Eduard Fueter made an interesting observation favoring the supposition that the *Vita* is an autobiography.[9] For the use of the third person, the past tense, and the semi-objective, evaluative tone of the work, Fueter pointed out the analogy to Petrus Cyrnaeus, who ended his *De rebus Corsicis*[10] with a description of himself disguised in the same way as the work of another. This is a work of around 1500.

In the course of this controversy the problem was stated and an attempt was made to solve it by essentially stylistic analysis of the *Vita*. The style was not analyzed in detail, the diction and phrasing not compared to that of Alberti's known works, but it was appraised for its autobiographical tone. It is clear that another approach entirely, the search for chronological evidence, is available. The consistent use of the past tense (the *vixit* phrase above is one example; another equally suggestive one is 'Itaque *voluit* omni in vita, omni gestu, omni sermone esse & videri dignus bonorum benevolentia . . .') indicates that the *Vita* was written after Alberti's death in 1472. Do the contents of the work indicate another date?

The following writings and achievements of Alberti are mentioned in the *Vita*:

LITERARY PROSE	SCIENTIFIC AND ARTISTIC	OTHER PUBLIC ACHIEVEMENTS
Philodoxeos	*libelli de pictura*	invention of
Commoditas atque incommoditas literarum		*camera scura*
Ephebia		
De religione		
Deiphira		
Elegiae, Eclogaeque		
Della famiglia books I–III		
Intercoenales (in particular, *Vidua*, *Defunctus*)		
Della famiglia book IV		
letter to Paolo Medico concerning future political events		
Canis		

Though we know that the *Philodoxeos* was sent in a revised version to

8 Henri Michel, *Un ideal humain au XV^e siecle—La pensée de L. B. Alberti (1404–1472)* (Paris, 1930), pp. 57–58.

9 Eduard Fueter, *Geschichte der neueren Historiographie* (Below-Meineke's *Handbuch der mittelalt. und neueren Gesch.*, Munich, 1911), pp. 50–51, 105–106.

10 Petrus Cyrnaeus, *De rebus Corsicis* (*RIS* XXIV), pp. 505–506.

Leonello d'Este in 1436 or 1437,[11] and that *Della famiglia* IV was dedicated to the *signoria* and *popolo* of Florence in 1441,[12] we have no independent outside dates for the composition of either these works or of any of the others. The *Vita* itself is the source for dating them. It tells us explicitly that everything through the *Intercoenales* in the first list was written before Alberti was thirty (1434). While certain works in this group are attributed to his student years, others were written while he was in Rome. Outside sources tell us that he was an apostolic secretary and that he joined the Curia in approximately 1432.[13] Since the entire papal court withdrew from Rome to Florence in 1434, this marks the end of the first period in Rome. The *Vita* does not refer to a second such period, though actually Alberti returned to Rome in 1443.[14] The 'libelli de pictura' are certainly products of the Florentine period 1432–34; this has long been concluded from the famous preface to *Della pittura*.[15]

The now lost letter concerning future political events and the *Canis* are not mentioned in the first part of the *Vita*, which moves along in an uneven narrative manner from one episode to the next in Alberti's life, but in the second part, which describes him generally, without reference to chronology, and quotes his 'sayings'. The letter illustrates his ability to predict wisely; the *Canis*, his love of nature and of animals ('Lepidissimo cani suo defuncto funebrem scripsit orationem'). Neither is dated by the *Vita* and the letter cannot be dated narrowly enough to be useful. The *Canis*, however, is a funeral oration apparently written upon the occasion of the death of Alberti's own dog; at least the *Vita* and the opening of the work itself suggest this. The dog was the son of Megastomo,[16] a dog belonging to Piero Alberti. Since certain feats of Megastomo's are reported in *Della famiglia* IV and can be dated to *ca.* 1410,[17] we may be reasonably sure that Alberti's dog was dead by 1430.

[11] *Opere volgari*, I, CXX, and discussion in Mancini, *Vita* (1911), p. 139.

[12] Mancini, *Vita* (1882), p. 233, n. 1, cites a note 'Versi di Leon Bap. Alberti recitati nel primo certame coronario anno Xpi MCCCCXXXXI die quando e' donò questo quarto libro de famiglia al Se. e po. fiorentino'. In the 1911 edition, he cites a note in another manuscript containing the poem *De amicitia* and Book IV: 'd'amicitia versi exametri per la scena facti et recitati publice. Et diè, et presentò un volumetto che tratta d'amicitia vulgarmente' (p. 202).

[13] Mainly Alberti's opening remark in *De iure* (*Opera*, sig. d iv^{v}) that he had not read a legal work since coming to Rome, almost six years before. *De iure* is dated 30 Sept. 1437.

[14] Mancini, *Vita* (1911), p. 255.

[15] Leon Battista Alberti, *Della pittura*, ed. Luigi Malle (Florence, 1950), p. 9.

[16] See *Della famiglia* IV (*Opere volgari* II), p. 394.

[17] Megastomo saved the life of Ladislas of Naples (1376–1414) shortly before John XXIII became pope, in 1410.

Della famiglia IV seems to be the work of latest date of those mentioned by the *Vita*. The *Vita* says that it was written three years after the first three books of *Della famiglia* were badly received by Alberti's relatives. At first Alberti had thought of committing these first books to the flames, but princes and others admired them. Eventually 'duty overcame indignation' and he wrote a fourth book which he also presented to his family. Since *Della famiglia* I–III were written in Rome (1432–34) one at first supposes that book IV was written at the latest in 1437. Girolamo Mancini, however, having found that *Della famiglia* IV was presented in Florence at the *Certame coronario* in 1441 to the *signoria* and *popolo* of Florence,[18] decided that it was also written at that date. He made allowance for the three year interval which the *Vita* puts between books I–III and book IV by saying that books I–III, though written in Rome before 1434, were not circulated until 1438. For a number of reasons, what seems more likely is that books I–III circulated when they were freshly written and that *Della famiglia* IV was written in 1437 or earlier, circulated before the *Certame*, and nevertheless officially presented to the Florentine republic on that occasion. The theme of the contest, which Alberti himself organized and to which he also contributed a poem,[19] was friendship, and *Della famiglia* IV deals mainly with this theme. That Alberti wrote the work expressly for the contest, on the other hand, seems unlikely, since the contest was a public recitation of vernacular poetry. *Della famiglia* IV is a prose work and certainly too long for recitation. The remark of the *Vita* that the first three books were written quickly (in ninety days) and for a definite social purpose—'Scripsit praeterea et affinium suorum gratia ut linguae Latinae ignaris prodesset, patrio sermone annum ante trigesimum aetatis suae etruscos libros primum, secundum, ac tertium de Familia . . .'—also militates against the supposition that these books waited at least four years to reach Alberti's family. The general suggestion of the *Vita* is that these books were written primarily for the family and that Alberti was deeply disappointed by the lack of appreciation with which they were received.

If what I have proposed concerning *Della famiglia* IV is invalid and it *was* written in 1441, it is certainly the last datable work mentioned in the *Vita*. If my arguments suffice, it remains the last work mentioned, with the date 1435–37. The last datable fact conveyed by the *Vita* is that im-

[18] See above, n. 12.

[19] Published in Leon Battista Alberti, *Opera inedita et pauca separatim impressa*, ed. Girolamo Mancini (Florence, 1890), p. 236.

plied by the statement 'Apud Venetias vultus amicorum, qui Florentiae adessent, expressit annum, mensesque integros postquam eos viderat', which must, according to Mancini's reconstruction of Alberti's life, refer to a visit to Venice in 1437, when Alberti was living mainly in Bologna.[20] If my remarks concerning *Della famiglia* IV are acceptable, then 1437 is the last date to which the contents of the *Vita* testify. This alone suggests that the work is an autobiography, for it mentions many works written before 1437, none—even very important ones—from the period 1437–72, a long period of fruitful activity which would have elapsed before the *Vita* could have been written as the posthumous tribute of a friend which it implicitly claims to be.

Further consideration of the chronology of Alberti's works in general confirms this point in a remarkable way. While the *Vita* omits any mention of one early artistic writing (*De statua*) and probably also of two early technical works (*Descriptio urbis Romae* and *Ludi mathematici*), it does mention, at least in some sort of general reference, every literary work of the period of Alberti's life up to 1437. The letter to Codagnello of early 1437,[21] which might be named as an exception, was probably meant as a private letter and only gradually became the somewhat notorious public statement of misogyny it appears in *Sofrona*.[22] The *Theogenio*, it is true, is a literary dialog not mentioned at all in the *Vita*, and one dated *ca.* 1434 by Mancini. Mancini's tentative dating of this work, however, reflects the democratic spirit of the scholar rather than his scholarship. He interprets the remarks in *Theogenio* about political upheaval and the vicissitudes of fortune, remarks which are necessary to the main argument of the work in favor of Stoic withdrawal from power and wealth, as veiled references to the violence and peremptory exiles which accompanied Cosimo de' Medici's return to Florence in 1434. It seems to me that there is good evidence that Alberti favored the Medicis, insofar as he was politically interested, thus following the tradition of the Alberti family of which he was so proud to be a member. He wrote admiring letters to various Medicis, dedicated *De uxoria* to Piero de' Medici in 1438, and worked under his patronage to organize the *Certame*.[23] In his late work, *De iciarchia*, he seems to comment indirectly, without mentioning names, on the folly of the early fifteenth-century

[20] Mancini, *Vita* (1911), p. 139.

[21] *Opere volgari* V, 233–252. For date see Mancini, *loc. cit.*

[22] *Opere volgari* I, 229–236.

[23] *Opera inedita*, Epistolae V, VIII, and X; Mancini, *Vita* (1911), p. 201.

Florentine policy of aggression against Pisa—a political question on which the Medicis always stood in the opposition against the Albizzi. The allusion, however, is open to question.[24] Most important of all, Alberti wrote one, and possibly two, poems defending Cosimo against the attack of the strongly anti-tyrannical Burchiello in 1434. While Mancini explains the poem beginning 'Accio che il vuoto cucchiaio non t'imbocchi . . .', which he definitely accepts as Alberti's, as a warning to Burchiello rather than a defense of Cosimo,[25] it seems that Vittorio Cian, who describes it as a virulent counterattack, is right.[26] If so, there is no reason to date the *Theogenio* as early as 1434, and no reason not to put it where its elegant, rather pedantic style indicates that it should be placed —closer to the *Tranquilità del'animo* (1441–42)—while we know from the fact of its presentation to Leonello d'Este upon the death of his father, Nicolas III, that it dates before 1441.[27]

If the *Theogenio* was written after 1437, as it may well have been, the *Vita* is complete on the literary work of Alberti's first thirteen years as a writer, the time when his humanistic work was more extensive and important than his work as artist or architect. Both the selection of works mentioned and the omission of Alberti's architectural career are understandable if we accept the *Vita* as dated 1437. The date 1437, in turn, is readily acceptable only if Alberti himself wrote the work.

Comparison with Alberti's self-description in *Tranquilità del'animo* (1441–42) indicates that the *Vita* does express his own view of himself. The interlocutors in the *Tranquilità*[28] make frequent and complimentary references to Alberti, who does not himself take an active part in the dialog, though he is represented as present. What is here said about him that is not said in the *Vita* seems to reflect precisely the interval 1437–41. There are references to the *Apologhi*, written in December 1437 (p. 86), the organization of the *Certame* of 1441 and preparations for a second contest, and—an indication of his developing interest in architectural problems—the *Elementi di mathematica* (p. 128) and *De motibus et ponderibus* (p. 128). On the whole the picture remains true to the features stressed in the *Vita*. Again there are references to *Della famiglia* (p. 10), the *Intercoenales* (p. 87–88), and *Della pittura* (p. 128), which is still men-

[24] *Opere volgari* III, 8.
[25] Mancini, *Vita* (1911), p. 139.
[26] Vittorio Cian, *La satira* I, 339–341.
[27] Letter of presentation in *Opere volgari* V, 159–160.
[28] *Opere volgari* I, 7–130.

tioned without *De statua;* and remarks are made about Alberti's fine sportsmanship (p. 57), devotion to physical exercise, love of study, and constant productivity (pp. 7, 57–58), his musical ability (p. 11), and even his ability to go without a hat in cold weather (p. 50), which seems to have been a matter of some pride to him, since he also makes a reference to this curious virtue in *Iciarchia.*[29] The *Tranquilità del'animo*, in short, confirms the self-idealization of the *Vita* if the latter is an autobiography.

Nothing in the diction, phrasing, and thinking of the *Vita* seems, at least to my reading, to differ conspicuously from the style of writing and thinking generally manifested in Alberti's works. The *Vita* is unusually succinct, it is true, and ideas are expressed in particularly compressed, vivid paragraphs without rhetorical development. This is also a characteristic of the *Villa* and of such epigrammatic works as the *Apologhi* and the *Sentenze pittagoriche*. In the *Vita*, where this stylistic feature is less appropriate to the subject matter and does not appear especially intentional, it probably indicates that the work is in a 'rough draft' form. Precisely this rough, succinct manner gives the *Vita* a charm for the modern reader beyond that of the *Della famiglia* or other moral prose works, but certainly without indicating another author.

Other works of Alberti tend to repeat both fragments of thought and characteristic diction and phrasing as we meet them in the *Vita*. The following passages illustrate this parallelism, which extends to a good many less striking instances. It supports, though it cannot be said to confirm definitely, the authorship of Alberti, which the chronological evidence makes decidedly probable.

Vita: [he strove] 'ut inter primarios aetatis suae adolescentes minime ultimus haberetur.'

Tranquilità (55) of Agnolo Pandolfini: 'fra' primi litterati in Toscana non postremo, e, fra' non ultimi umanissimi . . .'

Vita: 'Vix poterat perpeti prae se quemquam superiorem videri benevolentia, seclusa ambitione, a qua longe abfuit . .'

Della famiglia IV (476 f.): 'Ed assentiremo a Crasso quale dicea con animo non turbato soffrire altri a sè essere in quelle cose superiore, quali la fortuna possa torli; ma in quelle quali per nostra industria s'acquistano, qual son virtù e cognizione di cose ottime, non poter non dolersi sè fusse ad altri inferiore.'

Vita: '. . . gratia [principum et regum] ad nullius vindictas . . . abusus est.'

Della famiglia IV (397): 'Non pero mai commisi che persona suspicasse me usar la grazia e favore di Ladislao [King of Naples] in cosa non tutta giustissima e lodatissima.'

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[29] *Ibid.*, III, 101.

Vita (anticipating Castiglione): 'Sed arti addendam artem, ne quid illic factum arte videatur, dum per urbem obambularis, dum equo veheris, dum loquaris . . .'

Iciarchia (73): '. . . 'l cavalcare, 'l danzare l'andar per via e simili. Ma vi bisogna sopratutto moderare i gesti e la fronte, i moti e la figura di tutta la persona con accuratissimo riguardo, e con arte molto castigata al tutto, che nulla ivi paia fatto con escogitato artificio.'

Vita: 'Ac fuerat quidem natura ad iracundiam facili, et animo acri: sed illico surgentem indignationem reprimebat consilio, atque ex industria verbosos, et pervicaces interdum fugiebat . . . Interdum ultro se protervis, quo patientiae assuesceret, efferebat.'

Tranquilità (46): 'Sono alcuni da natura proclivi e adiritti a qualche affeto d'animo non lodato . . . A simili bisogna nelle piccole e lievi cose avvezzarsi a quasi edificare in sè un' altra natura . . . E Crate filosofo irritava una e un'altra vilissima e procacissima trecca e meretrice a garrire seco: e questo faceva per avvezzarsi a udire senza stomaco e perturbazione parole villane e rissose contro a sè.'

Della famiglia IV (471): '. . . alcuni si maligni e di natura si acerbi . . .'

Vita: 'Omnibus argumentis, maximoque opere, sed frustra elaboravit aliquos erga se mansuetiores reddere, quos futuros infensos ex ipso aspectu sensisset. Eorum tamen inimicitias quasi fatalem quandam necessitatem mediocriter ferebat . . .'

Della famiglia IV (456–457): '. . . veggo i buoni essere odiati non raro . . . E non pochi . . . si raccontano subito tornati da inimicizia in non sperata amicizia; qual cose fanno, che forse alcuni dubitano queste veementissime affezioni nascere non da nostra alcuna opera, ma quasi da qualche fato e forza de' cieli.'

Vita: 'Aliena secreta nusquam prodidit, sed aeternum obmutuit.'

Musca (55): 'Quid musca, que omnium conscia nullius tamen unquam dicta aut facta revelavit; quibus laudibus prosequemur?'

Della famiglia IV (458): 'L'amico meco ogni suo secreto aprirà, miei terrà secretissimi . . .'

Vita: 'Animi gratia e domo in publicum exiens cum artifices omnes assiduos in tabernis versari ad opus intueretur, quasi gravissimo aliquo a censore commonefactus, saepe domum confestim repetebat: "et nos quoque pro suscepto officio, inquiens, exercebimur". Vere novo cum rura et colles efflorescentes intueretur, arbustaque, et plantas omnes maximam prae se fructuum spem ferre animadvertet, vehementer tristis animus reddebatur, hisque sese castigabat dictis: "nunc to quoque, o Baptista tuis de studiis quidpiam fructuum generi hominum polliceri oportet".'

Iciarchia (88): 'Il pescatore, il mercante e simili, se torna senza preda e guadagno di nulla, tanto si duole quanto del tempo perduto. Tu studioso, tu nato a essere fra' tuoi cittadini quanto tu desideri uomo onorato e primario, non commettere per tua dissidia e negligenzia che ti bisogni dolerti e dire: oggi imparai nulla: oggi acquistai niuna buona grazia: oggi non diedi opera utile ad alcuno amico nè feci cosa qual giovi a me.'

The author of the *Vita* apparently knew only Alberti's work before 1437, and knew almost all of it, but his turns of phrase and his manner of thinking reappear with conspicuous frequency, not only in some works before 1437 (in particular, *Della famiglia* IV), but also in later works: *Musca* (1441–42),[30] *Tranquilità del'animo* (1441–42),[31] *Momus* (1442–51),[32] and *Iciarchia* (*ca.* 1470).[33] There are three obvious possibilities. First, the author was not Alberti himself and wrote after Alberti's death. He was most closely acquainted with the early part of Alberti's career and neglected, perhaps because he never finished the *Vita*,[34] to discuss later works, the style of which was familiar to him also, or to mention Alberti's main contribution to the intellectual life of his time, namely his work on architecture. The second possibility is that the author was not Alberti and wrote around 1437. He knew Alberti extremely well and had picked up from *Della famiglia* IV, and to some extent from other early works, Alberti's most characteristic attitudes, subsidiary ideas, and wording, which developed even further in the later period of Alberti's writing. Furthermore perhaps he influenced Alberti to live up to and to interpret the ideal of himself vividly set forth in the *Vita*. For some reason this unknown author wrote as if Alberti's habits, ideals, and life were all in the past—that is, as if Alberti were dead. The third possibility which, it seems to me, explains everything much more simply, is that Alberti wrote the *Vita* himself, expressing his own developing style and attitudes, expressing his thorough knowledge of his own emotional past and sketching the whole of his humanistic career to the time of writing.

[30] Leon Battista Alberti, *Opuscoli Inediti—Musca—Vita S. Potiti* (Florence, 1954).

[31] *Opere volgari* I, 7–130. References to *Della famiglia* IV are also to Bonucci's edition, *Opere volgari* II.

[32] Leon Battista Alberti, *Momus o il principe*, ed. Giuseppe Martini (Bologna, 1942).

[33] *Opere volgari* III, 7–151.

[34] Burckhardt (*loc. cit.*) indicates that the *Vita* is a fragment. Janitschek (*loc. cit.*) believes that it is an extract from a letter. The latter idea does not explain the care with which the early life of Alberti is described and the complete omission of the rest: certainly the *Vita* is not a casual digression but an elaborate discussion. The idea that it is a fragment is important, for one might suppose that the second part of Alberti's life was taken up or was to be taken up in the lost or unwritten second part of the *Vita*. Closer examination of the work, however, suggests a rough draft rather than a fragment, for, though the transitions throughout are abrupt, the structure of the whole work, except for some appended additional 'sayings' of Alberti which clearly belong either in the body of the work or altogether out of it, is coherent and cogent. Narrative treatment of Alberti's life is definitely dropped after the achievements in Rome and the work in the realm of painting are dealt with. The work does not break off in the midst of narrative; it ends, if one ignores the appended 'sayings', with an eloquent passage on Alberti's relation to nature.

He put the *Vita* in the third person and in the past tense in order to give it the authority of an objective appraisal and himself the freedom of anonymity.

The manner of the *Vita* as a whole supports the last of these hypotheses. Almost every statement concerns not merely personal, but inner realities—feelings of moral duty, pain, hope, fatalism, self-satisfaction, self-questioning, love, etc. Writings and inventions are subordinated to the intention with which they were written, and the attitude with which the author responded to their good or bad reception, particularly his forbearance towards his enemies. He speaks of a murderous attack on him which he kept secret because it was planned by members of his own family and he did not want to disgrace the family name; the *Vita* partially breaks this silence, insinuating that the names of the conspirators remain purposely untold, in order to illustrate Alberti's sense of honor. This would be both more paradoxical and less understandable in an author to whom Alberti had already broken the silence he boasts of. There is in the *Vita*, furthermore, a constant strain of warning and reproach to Alberti's calumniators, reflecting what seems to be a profound fear of continued defamation. Essentially this author speaks in a defensive manner. It is true that the main effect of the work is to impress deeply on our minds the versatility, the pride, the self-control, and the penetrating intelligence of a noble figure, but this effect is not achieved in a casual, self-assured way. It is achieved while denouncing calumny, claiming independence from public misunderstanding. It is a statement made in the face of enemies as well as in the presence of friends. The considerable number of contemporary references to Alberti, however, greatly respect, even when they do not eulogize, him. Even the school of thought which presumably lies behind the opinion of Vasari, who depreciates Alberti's importance as an artist, respects him as a writer and thoroughly admires his upright character and his incorruptibility. Only the works of Alberti himself, and these from beginning to end, complain in even more than typically Renaissance fashion of public misunderstanding and of cruel slander.[35] Thus the gen-

[35] For examples of Alberti's condemnation of slanderers and concern with the problem, see: *Scriptor* (*Opera inedita*, p. 122); *Vaticinium* (*ibid.*, p. 161); *Pontifex* (*ibid.*, pp. 96–97); *Pupillus* (*ibid.*, p. 127); *Della famiglia* IV (*Opere volgari*, pp. 452–470); *Tranquilità del'animo* (*ibid.*, I, 71–81). For his feeling that the general public does not appreciate or understand the scholar, see *Commoditas atque incommoditas literarum* (throughout). For his belief in the brotherhood of those who love wisdom, a belief stressed in the *Vita* and closely related to the negative views expressed in the passages cited above, see: *Anuli* (*Opera inedita*, p. 235); *Della famiglia* IV (*Opere volgari*, p. 436); *Iciarchia* (*ibid.*, III, 63); *Tranquilità del'animo* (*ibid.*, I, 71).

eral tone of the *Vita* as well as the chronological evidence, supported by the continuity with Alberti's literary style in later years, confirms his authorship.

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Il principe and *lo stato*

A SCHOLAR who has given much of his life to the study of Machiavelli and Machiavellianism, Prof. Giuseppe Prezzolini, recently observed that Machiavelli himself is partly responsible for the weird interpretations of which he has been victim, 'because he did not take pains to express himself in a systematic form and with a coherent vocabulary. His way of writing is cited in the history of Italian literature for its perspicuity, simplicity, absence of rhetoric. But it could not be cited for its precision . . . Machiavelli *uses the same word for different concepts and expresses the same concepts with different words.*'[1] Prezzolini offers confirmation for his remarks from the corroborative reports of other explorers who wore themselves out slogging through the swamp of Machiavelli's vocabulary. In 1907, for example, Schmidt remarked in his *Niccolò Machiavelli und die Allgemeine Staatslehre der Gegenwart*, 'Negligence about terminology attains its peak in Machiavelli'.[2] And in 1923 Condorelli noted, 'Machiavelli has carried carelessness about the terminology of jurisprudence to such a point that more than once it is difficult or rather impossible for the scholar to penetrate his thought.'[3]

The peculiarly inconsistent tales that explorers of Machiavelli's vocabulary have come back with justify Prezzolini's dispiriting account of the difficulties and eccentricities of the terrain.[4] For although most reports

[1] Giuseppe Prezzolini, *Machiavelli Anticristo* (Rome, 1954), p. 3. Italics mine.

[2] Quoted in Prezzolini, p. 4.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Several writers have tried to come to grips with Machiavelli's terminology or with certain key words in his vocabulary. There are only two works that attempt to deal comprehensively with his use of language, Fredi Chiappelli, *Studi sul linguagio del Machiavelli*, and John di Sciullo, *Il vocabolario politico di Niccolò Machiavelli* (M.A. thesis, Columbia University, 1950). The latter work provides handy examples, drawn from all Machiavelli's works, of the uses of the most important substantives in Machiavelli's political vocabu-

agree on what the main points of interest *are—virtù, fortuna, necessità, libertà, stato*—there is no such consensus as to what those points *are like*. The differences of opinion are indeed so considerable that one is reminded of the trouble the blind men had with the elephant. Yet one is reluctant to accept counsels of despair. For it would seem that if one cannot make sense of the main symbols which Machiavelli or any other man uses to express his thought, then one simply cannot understand what he is talking about, since after all they are the symbols he especially chose to convey what he had in mind. In any case it seems to me that to give the thing up without another try is to throw the sponge in prematurely. In the case of a writer like Machiavelli one has at least no problem of rhetorical verbosity. Rarely indeed does he pile up words out of sheer affection for sound effects. One can feel quite sure almost all the time that when he uses a word, he does so to indicate something he has in mind, and not merely to provide a pleasing tintinnabulation in the reader's inner ear. But if he does indeed have something in mind when he uses words, particularly when he uses the words that provide the ossature of his writing, then with respect to each occurrence of such a word the reader will find himself in one of three positions: (a) by the context in which the word appears he will be able to determine pretty accurately what Machiavelli had in mind; or (b) on the same basis he will be able to determine roughly what Machiavelli had in mind; or (c) he will not be able to determine what Machiavelli had in mind. If the third alternative

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lary. Mr. di Sciullo, however, has been too easily satisfied to pigeonhole those substantives in compartments provided by a modern Italian dictionary, a procedure which obscures the ambiguities in Machiavelli's language and gives an appearance of exactitude and fine distinction to his terminology which it did not always possess. Moreover, by concentrating entirely on substantives and omitting verbs and modifiers, di Sciullo misses the environment, as it were, that determines the complexion of the substantives. Chiappelli alone among those who have written on Machiavelli's use of words has paid some heed to his verbs and modifiers. Other writers have concentrated their attention on a few recurrent and key words in Machiavelli's writings, especially on *virtù, fortuna, necessità*, and *stato*. Among the most important works treating one or several of these words are Friedrich Meinecke, *Die Idee der Staatsräson in der neueren Geschichte* (3d ed., Munich, 1929), pp. 39–56; Francesco Ercole, *La politica di Machiavelli* (Rome, 1926), pp. 20–196; J. H. Whitfield, *Machiavelli* (Oxford, 1947), pp. 92–105; E. W. Mayer, *Machiavellis Geschichtsauffassung und sein begriff 'Virtù'* (Munich, 1912), passim; Grazio Condorelli, 'Per la storia del nome "Stato" (il nome "stato" in Machiavelli)', *Archivio Giuridico* LXXXIX (1923), 223–235; XC (1923), 77–112. A. L. Burd in his excellent edition of *Il principe* (Oxford, 1891) has included in his notes comments on several of the key words in that work. Some observations by Felix Gilbert and Loren C. MacKinney on the meaning of *virtù* in Machiavelli will be found in *Renaissance News* IV (1951), 53–55, and V (1952), 21–23.

were found to hold with great regularity in Machiavelli's writings we had as well pack up our kit of erudition and go elsewhere because then it would be quite impossible ever to find out what Machiavelli was talking about. If, however, the other two alternatives are the predominant ones, then it would seem that a thorough and careful analysis of the meanings he assigned to certain key words would provide as good a clue as any to his central preoccupations and to his specific notions. And this is true whether he uses the words consistently or not.

Now one of the most important words in Machiavelli's writings—one of the words he puts down in very crucial places to indicate what he has in mind—is *lo stato*. Because the rise of the modern state is one of the half-dozen central themes in the history of the western world during the past five centuries, Machiavelli's frequent reliance on *lo stato* as a verbal symbol assumes special significance for historians of civilization. Although the history of the word in its various European forms—*status*, *lo stato*, *l'état*, *der Staat*, *el estado*, the state—has never been fully explored,[5] it seems fairly clear that at the beginning of the fifteenth century the term was not used in its modern political sense in any western European language and that by the seventeenth century it was frequently so used in all of them. The emergence of the actual historical phenomenon of the modern state therefore roughly coincides with the emergence of the term universally applied to it. The idea widely entertained that Machiavelli is the first truly modern political thinker has therefore lent particular piquancy to his obvious enamorment with the word *lo stato*. The question naturally raised by Machiavelli's frequent recourse to the word is this: when Machiavelli uses the term *lo stato*, does he have in mind the modern state?[6]

Most of the discussions with respect to the use of the term *lo stato* in Machiavelli's writings have in fact focused on this problem. Yet, although the question is a natural one, it is also a bad one. For, looked at one way, the answer is so obviously 'no' that the question need hardly have been asked. A fully and precisely elaborated juridical conception of the state was hammered out by lawyers and publicists in the years *after* Machiavelli's death. Their conception was sharpened and defined by

[5] There are some indications on the use of the term before Machiavelli's time in Mayer, pp. 108–109, Ercole, pp. 67–72, and Condorelli, pp. 77–112.

[6] This is essentially the question recently posed and answered in the affirmative by Fredi Chiappelli, a careful student of Machiavelli's traits of style and expression. For analysis of the consequences of starting with this question *mal posée*, see Appendix A.

controversies that Machiavelli knew nothing of, especially the controversy about the extent of the authority of Europe's secular governing bodies over the religious practices of their respective subjects. Machiavelli stands at or even before the beginning of this juridical process of definition.[7]

Yet this 'no' answer is surely unsatisfactory. For if Machiavelli did not have the modern juridical conception of the state in mind because he could not, most people who talk about the state today do not have the modern juridical conception of the state in mind either, although they could. In fact it is doubtful if the term is very often used today with a full sense of its juridical complexity except by international and constitutional lawyers. And yet the term is on everyone's lips in every country in the western world. And however varied the shades of significance today casually ascribed to the 'state' in its political sense, they have at least this *negative* trait in common: they rarely if ever have *any* of the political meanings that *status* and its Romance and Germanic derivatives usually had for men before the fifteenth century. So we might better pose the question, 'Did Machiavelli use *lo stato* in any or many of the various senses in which we use "the state"?' But there is perhaps a better way still. Instead of trying to hook Machiavelli's language to our own, let us permit him to speak to us in his own language; let us simply ask, 'In what senses, and with what significations, does Machiavelli in fact use the term *lo stato*?'

To the question so posed a method of finding the answer immediately suggests itself. We can go through Machiavelli's works and try to decipher from the context in which we find *lo stato* the various senses in which Machiavelli used the word. Yet this happily innocent approach has a serious drawback. For if we work this way, then every signification of the word will appear to have the same importance as every other. Yet it is surely obvious that if Machiavelli uses *lo stato* in one sense once and in another a hundred times, then for him the latter sense is considerably more important than the former. A far more desirable alternative would be to collect all the uses of *lo stato* in *Tutte le opere* and find which ones Machiavelli leaned toward most heavily. But here, alas, the life expectancy, the intellectual interests, and the capacity for sustaining bore-

[7] For the hammering out of a juridical conception of the state in the sixteenth century, beside general treatises on political theory, see J. W. Allen, *A History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century* (New York, 1928), and W. F. Church, *Constitutional Thought in Sixteenth-Century France* (Cambridge, Mass., 1941).

dom of the author of this study combine to interpose an insuperable barrier. It would take too long, I have other things to do, and the process would bore me to death. There remains a third compromise alternative —that of a study at once exhaustive and limited. This involves studying Machiavelli's use of *lo stato* only in a single important work, but examining *every* use in that work. It is this kind of exhaustive and limited study that I have undertaken. For this purpose I have chosen *Il principe*, partly because it is one of the two most important political writings of Machiavelli and partly because it is a great deal shorter than the other, the *Discorsi*.

A fairly painstaking working over of *Il principe* has dredged up 114 occurrences of *lo stato* (or its plural form). In a work scarcely 15,000 words long and full of concrete narrative *exempla*, this is a quite heavy frequency for a term at least quasi-technical in character. These 114 uses of *lo stato* are widely though somewhat unevenly distributed throughout *Il principe* in the dedication and 21 of the 26 chapters.[8]

It is instructive to compare Machiavelli's use of *lo stato* with the various meanings of that term and its equivalents current in the middle ages.[9] During the medieval centuries *status* and its derivatives in the vulgar tongues tended to cling fairly close to a matrix that emphasized the notion of being established, fixed, permanent. Most generally it bore the implication of a fixed or definite *condition*, a meaning that survives in our phrase 'man's estate', and, in view of the contemporary *mores* somewhat anomalously, in the phrase 'the state of matrimony'. When put to social use in the middle ages *status* ordinarily signified *social* condition, place in the social order, rank. A man was of *haut*, *moyen*, or *bas état*, of high, middle, or low rank, depending on his wealth and prestige and the social acceptability of his way of living. In a society in which a passion for legal prescription and definition paralleled, if it did not seriously temper, a

[8] Both the number of editions of *Il principe* in general use and the monstrous elaboration of apparatus that full documentation of the study would demand has led me to limit my *general* indications on the occurrences of *lo stato* to the list in Appendix B, where the number of occurrences in each chapter and in each column in the Mazzoni and Casella edition of *Tutte le opere . . . di Niccolò Machiavelli* (Florence, 1929) is given in tabular form. Each specific quotation is identified in a footnote which gives *first* the chapter of *Il principe* and *second* the page and column in Mazzoni and Casella in which the quotation occurs, e.g., 1; 5a.

[9] The following three paragraphs on the use of *lo stato* and its equivalents in the middle ages is based on the studies of Condorelli and Ercole cited in n. 4, on the dictionaries of Tommaseo, La Curne de Ste. Palaye, and Godefroy, on du Cange, on the *Oxford English Dictionary*, and on such impressions as the present writer has picked up from his reading.

native proclivity toward violence and in which custom quickly became transformed into law, the social condition or *status* or estate of individuals and especially of groups could more or less accurately be described by the cluster of legal duties to which they were subject and of legal privileges which they enjoyed.

This led *status* toward the first of its medieval political meanings. The duties and privileges of princes were sufficiently different from those of other men to require separate legal definition. So the law came to speak of the estate, *l'état*, *lo stato* of the prince—king, duke, or other. Now the legal duties and privileges of the various conditions or orders or estates of men were theoretically at least concomitants of their social function; they provided the defined sphere of obligations and rights allotted to the various orders of men so that they might perform the tasks, necessary to the welfare of the social whole, to which God had called them. Like all callings, the calling of the princes came from God, but it was by virtue of the very function of the prince a call to authority, to rule. So the legal definition of the prince's *status* took the form of a bundle of rights and duties with respect to ruling, what the English were fond of calling the royal prerogative. This bundle defined what the prince *did* as a ruler; put into practice it described—in a sense, was—the government of his principality. So the *status*, *lo stato*, the estate of the prince came close to identification with the political governing of his principality.

Status, however, acquired a second political meaning during the middle ages. Just as the prince had an estate, or *status*, the principality itself was always in a certain condition or *status*, a signification of the word still preserved in America in the regular presidential report to Congress on 'the state of the nation'. As early as 1258 a ruler speaks of taking the lead in rectifying the *status regni nostri per concilium fidelium*. About a century thereafter the use of the term in connection with a body politic had come at times to refer to its *fundamental* condition, its constant ordering, its constitution, and Giovanni Villani speaks of one who aimed to *tradire il popolo e sovertire lo stato della città*. So by the fifteenth century *status* and its vulgar derivatives had acquired two strictly political senses, one of which focused on the ruler and the acts of ruling, the other on the order, political structure, way of life of the ruled.

The first significant fact about Machiavelli's use of the word *stato* in *Il principe* is that he very rarely indeed employed it in the broad inclusive sense, very frequent in the middle ages, of conditions in general—the notion we have in mind when we say, 'Here's a pretty state of things'.

The second significant fact is that Machiavelli used *lo stato* just as infrequently in the extended medieval social meaning of rank or degree within the social hierarchy of privileges, duty, honor, and prestige. With but few exceptions where Machiavelli talked about *lo stato* in *Il principe* it was in a narrowly political sense. The subject of his discourse lay in the general orbit of the ruler and the ruled in a principality or a republic. In fact, of the 114 occurrences of *lo stato* in *Il principe* only five at most, an insignificant fraction of the whole, clearly fall outside that narrow ambit. However hard it may be to specify *exactly* what Machiavelli had in mind each of the other 109 times he spoke of *lo stato*, he had in mind something that lay in the sphere of either the *status regis* or the *status regni*, in the senses that those two phrases had acquired in the later middle ages.

If we approach these remaining 109 occurrences of *lo stato* without preconceived notions or a tidy rationally elaborated scheme, if we simply collect and scan these occurrences in their contexts, we can save ourselves a good bit of time and trouble. For if we do so, the one thing that almost violently thrusts itself on our attention is a thing that no previously elaborated plan would be likely to take into account. It is the remarkable frequency with which *lo stato* occurs in association with five verbs—*acquistare*, *tenere*, *mantenere*, *togliere*, *perdere*: to acquire, to hold, to maintain, to take away, to lose. In fact it appears in conjunction with one or another of these verbs no less than thirty-five times. Or putting it another way, over thirty per cent of the times that Machiavelli used the term *lo stato* in *Il principe*, he used it with *acquistare*, *tenere*, *mantenere*, *togliere*, *perdere*. Nor is this all. Today we might frequently speak of a state *acquiring* territory, *holding* prisoners, *maintaining* a legal position, *taking away* property, *losing* a possession. Now the curious thing is that not even once in *Il principe* does Machiavelli speak of *lo stato* doing any of these things. *Lo stato* does not acquire, or hold, or maintain, or take away, or lose anything or any one. With those verbs it is *never* the active subject, it is *always* passive or the object: some one *always* acquires it, holds it, maintains it, takes it away, loses it. Now in the five-word cluster we have been examining one at first sight seems a bit of a maverick. *Acquistare*, *tenere*, *togliere*, *perdere* somehow have a common feel. Without going into detail on a matter that must be reserved for later discussion we may say that by and large they suggest acts that a man does primarily on his own account, for himself. Thus in ordinary discourse if some one tells us that he has acquired something, holds it, has taken it away, or has lost it, we assume, unless it is clearly specified otherwise,

that he has done these things for himself, not for the sake of some one else, certainly not for the sake of the thing acquired, held, or taken. Roughly we might describe these verbs as words with an exploitative tonality. To 'maintain' or 'support', however, rather suggests something that one does not only *to* some one or something else but *for* some one or something else. But in this instance appearances are deceptive. In fact as used by Machiavelli in *Il principe* and commonly at the time by other writers, the verb *mantenere* does not connote an act of giving. It stands well away from the present-day meaning of *maintain*: to uphold, to support. This is unmistakably clear in three of the instances in which *lo stato* is coupled with *mantenere*.

'In hereditary *stati*', says Machiavelli, '. . . there is considerably less difficulty in maintaining them than in new ones . . . so that if a prince has ordinary industry he will always *maintain himself in his stato*.'[10] And again: 'If the prince wants to maintain *lo stato* he is often forced not to be good, because when that faction . . . which you judge that you need *in order to maintain yourself* is corrupt, you had better adapt yourself to its humor in order to satisfy it.'[11] One cannot misconstrue Machiavelli's line of thought here. He does not distinguish at all between the prince maintaining *lo stato* and the prince maintaining himself in *lo stato* or simply maintaining himself. *Mantenere* retains its etymological significance: to hold in hand. Hereafter if we have reason to translate the phrase *mantenere lo stato* we shall render it, for the sake of accuracy, 'keep *lo stato* in hand', or 'keep a grip on *lo stato*', for, as it occurs in *Il principe*, *mantenere* is clearly just as exploitative as *acquistare*, *tenere*, *togliere*, and *perdere*.

Once we have entered this line of investigation by way of our five-word group, we are bound to continue beyond it, for they are merely the more prosperous senior members of a large family; those five verbs are not the only ones by means of which it is possible to express what we have called an exploitative relation vis-à-vis *lo stato*. If we look in *Il principe* for other members of that family conjoined with *lo stato*, we have no trouble finding them. We find *aggiungere* (twice), *assaltare*, *disarmare*, *guadagnare*, *nuocere*, *occupare* (twice), *possedere*, *concedere*, *pigliare*, *prendere*, *riperdere*, *recuperare*, *rendersi sicuro in*, *rimanere sicuro*. Each of these verbs appears with *lo stato*, and, as in all cases with our initial five-word group so in each case here, *lo stato* is passive or the object; never is it the acting subject. Besides acquiring, holding, keeping in hand, taking away, and losing *lo stato*, a man may add to it, assault it, disarm it, win it, injure it,

[10] 2; 5b. Italics mine.

[11] 19; 38a–b. Italics mine.

occupy it, possess it, concede it, seize it, take it, relose it, regain it, render himself secure in it, remain secure in it. These are all things that men can do to *lo stato*. There is nothing to suggest that *lo stato* does or for that matter can do any of these things to any one or to anything. So we add sixteen exploitative uses of *lo stato* to our previous thirty-five. The end is not yet.

All of the verb forms just examined seem obviously to belong to the exploitative *acquistare-tenere-mantenere-togliere-perdere* clan: they wear the tartan conspicuously enough. There are others that do not flaunt their connection; yet the relationship is not hard to discern if one examines the words with some care. To *save* the *state*, for example, surely sounds like an unexploitative act; but is it unexploitative to *salvare lo stato*? Machiavelli says that a prince must not mind incurring 'infamy for the vices without which he could only with difficulty *salvare lo stato*'.[12] This seems to have the air of heroism; it seems to say that the true patriot will sacrifice his very good fame for the salvation of his state or country. *Dulce et decorum est pro patria peccare*. But is that what Machiavelli really means? Let us read what he is saying about 'saving' *lo stato* in context. 'A prince must not mind incurring the infamy of vices without which he could only with difficulty *salvare lo stato*, for a certain thing may appear to be a virtue, and following it would ruin *him*, and some other may appear to be a vice, and following it he achieves *his own* security and well-being.'[13] It is evident that as in the case of *mantenere* so in that of *salvare* we were taken in not by what Machiavelli said but by our own predisposition to inject our sense of 'the state' into Machiavelli's *lo stato*. In *Il principe* in conjunction with *lo stato*, *salvare* does not mean to save or rescue it; it means just what *mantenere* and *tenere* mean—to keep one's grasp on it. One saves *lo stato* not for *itself*, but for *oneself*.

The only complication about *avere*, to have, is its simplicity; it is such a common inconspicuous little verb that one pays little attention to it. When we do notice it, however, its ordinary affiliation is apparent, as the following examples demonstrate:

'Barons like these *have stati* and subjects of their own.'[14]

The question is 'whether a prince *has* enough *stato* so that if necessary he can defend himself by himself.'[15]

The Venetians 'in the beginning of their expansion on land did not have much to fear from their captains because they did not *have* much *stato* there, and they had a big reputation.'[16]

[12] 15; 31a.
[13] *Ibid.* Italics mine.
[14] 4; 10b. Italics mine.
[15] 10; 22a. Italics mine.
[16] 12; 26b. Italics mine.

Philip of Macedon 'did not *have* much *stato* compared to the greatness of the Romans and Greeks attacking him.'[17]
To *avere lo stato* is simply to *tenere lo stato*, just as in the marriage service to have and to hold one's spouse are one and the same thing.

Now before going on with our exploration we had better pause to see how far we have got. The answer is that we have got past the middle. We eliminated five occurrences of *lo stato*, and of the 109 remaining occurrences we have now investigated 57—and we still have not got beyond the shadow of the word group we started with: *acquistare-tenere mantenere-togliere-perdere*. And the uniformity we noticed at the beginning has persisted down to this point where we have exhausted over half of the occurrences of the word in *Il principe*: more than half the time in *Il principe lo stato* does nothing whatever; it is passive; it is the object of action, never the active subject. Finally the action of which *lo stato* is the object is almost always the kind we have called exploitative; it manipulates and manages *lo stato* for the benefit of him who is in control or wants to be in control.

Having gone this far in checking the verb company *lo stato* keeps in *Il principe*, we may as well run out the string. Well, *lo stato* appears in close company with other verbs only about twenty-six more times in *Il principe*. On the fairly rare occasions when it is not being exploited by some one it is likely to be being bossed by some one (*insignorare*, *reggere*, *governare*, *ordinare*); or created or increased by some one (*creare*, *accrescere*, *ampliare*); or defended and conserved by some one (*defendere*, *conservare*). Except for a few odds and ends that is the sum of what is done to *lo stato* in *Il principe*. And while all these things are being done to it, what is *lo stato* doing? Really very little. *Lo stato* shows up as the active subject of a verb just about seven or eight times in the whole of *Il principe*, and then its activity does not come to much. It seems symbolic of its passivity even in the active voice that on the only occasion when Machiavelli uses *lo stato* as subject of a good violent verb *ribellarsi* it is to tell us about a *stato* that did *not* rebel.[18] So *lo stato* deploys its anemic activity in about one-twelfth of the instances in which it occurs in *Il principe* conjoined with a verb. In the remaining eleven-twelfths some one is doing something to *lo stato*, and in three-quarters of those instances what the some one is doing is rather exploitative.

The figures adduced above may seem reasonably impressive. Actually they do only partial justice to the real situation. That situation is ob-

[17] 24; 47b. Italics mine.

[18] 4; 10a.

scured in part by a grammatical fog. Frequently the verb to which *lo stato* is immediately conjoined is not clearly exploitative, and yet the general sense of the argument is concerned with *lo stato* from a strictly exploitative point of view. Consider for example the following passage:

> When those *stati* that are acquired . . . are accustomed to live according to their own laws and in liberty there are three methods available to him who wishes to hold (*tenere*) them; . . . the third . . . [is] creating among them *uno stato di pochi*. For the *stato*, created by a prince, knows that it cannot survive without his friendship . . . and a city accustomed to live freely *si tiene* more easily by means of its citizens. . . . The Spartans *tennono* Athens and Thebes by creating a *stato di pochi* of them.[19]

Now the verbs that *lo stato* grammatically belongs to in the last three cases are *creare*, *sapere*, and *creare*. Grammatically *lo stato* does not go with *tenere* at all; but *tenere* remains the heart of the matter; each sentence in the selection is wholly devoted to ways of *holding* a *stato* accustomed to living by its own laws.

This situation suggests a reclassification of Machiavelli's use of *lo stato* in *Il principe* that will circumvent the artificiality of a strict grammatical approach. Let us ask how often *lo stato* occurs *in the same sentence* with an exploitative verb, in such a way that, as in the example given above, *lo stato* is *in fact*, even if not in grammar, the object of that verb. The verbs to be considered exploitative are those that we have already so classified. If there are two such verbs in the same sentence we will give preference to the one in the *acquistare-mantenere-tenere-togliere-perdere* group.

When we examine the 109 occurrences of *lo stato* in a political sense, employing the set of ground rules just proposed, the results are rather startling. More than *seven out of every ten times* that *lo stato* so occurs in *Il principe* one of the exploitative verbs controls it. It appears under such control *more than twice, almost two and a half times, as often as it appears in all other ways*. In over one-half of all its occurrences in a political sense, 61 out of 109, it is controlled by *acquistare*, *mantenere*, *tenere*, *perdere*, and *togliere*. It is primarily involved in being acquired, kept in hand, held, lost, or taken away, *almost twice as often* as the total number of times that it occurs without an exploitative verb. Thus before we have even had to ask precisely what *lo stato* denotes for Machiavelli we have discovered something of fundamental significance about its function in *Il principe*. Whatever *lo stato* denotes (whether indeed it has a precise unambiguous denotation or not), it functions in *Il principe* primarily as the object of political exploitation.

[19] 5; 12a.

Now at the outset of this paper we indicated that some scholars found that Machiavelli was not at all consistent in his use of his key words. And we had to acknowledge that in a sense this was true. But our investigation of *lo stato* suggests that perhaps in this case those scholars have been looking for the *wrong kind* of consistency. Postulating at the very outset that Machiavelli was *not* technically a political philosopher and *not* a professor of jurisprudence, they have then proceeded to look for the kind of consistency with respect to the word *lo stato* that one might hope for in the works of a political philosopher or a professor of jurisprudence. Under the circumstances their surprise at not finding that kind of consistency seems almost disingenuous, a little like the surprise of the card sharps who come up with four aces. After all they are dealing from a cold deck.

By a method about as empirical and inductive as a method can get and still have any coherence at all, we have stumbled upon a very distinct consistency in Machiavelli's use of the key word *lo stato* in *Il principe*. But it is not the consistency of a political philosopher or a professor of jurisprudence; it does not hinge on a finicking care to have *lo stato* always and clearly denote a single unambiguous thing or at the worst two or three things that in context could never possibly be confused with one another by Machiavelli or any one else. In fact if one tries to make sense of *lo stato* in *Il principe* in terms of its denotations one jeopardizes one's sanity. Sometimes it seems to mean the people: *lo stato* is governed. Sometimes it seems to mean the land: in France some baron can always be counted upon to open the road to *lo stato* to an enemy.[20] Sometimes it seems to mean the land and the people: the Venetians wanted to win half *lo stato* of Lombardy.[21] Sometimes it seems to mean resources in general: it is important to know if the prince has enough *stato* to defend himself.[22] Sometimes it means the ruling class: the Spartans created *uno stato di pochi* in Thebes.[23] Sometimes it seems to mean the government apart from the people: the people need *lo stato*, and *lo stato* needs the people.[24] Sometimes it seems to mean people, land, and government taken together: Italy is divided into *più stati*.[25] Once *lo stato* 'has command'; ordinarily it is ruled. And so on. But clearly this way madness lies; the awful truth is that for most of the occurrences of *lo stato* in *Il principe* it is quite impossible to tell whether it has none, or one, or several, or all of these possible denotative meanings. For most of the time *lo stato* simply lies about indecently passive and quite nude, bare of the slightest vestige of modest

[20] 4; 11a.
[21] 3; 8b.
[22] 10; 22a.
[23] 5; 12a.
[24] 9; 22a.
[25] 12; 26b.

descriptive or denotative covering, being acquired, or held, or kept, or had, or taken away, or lost by somebody.

And that of course is the consistency that really matters as against the inconsistency that did not matter in the least to Machiavelli and should not matter to any one else. The consistency rests not in a clearly specified and continuously adhered-to denotation for *lo stato*, but in an extraordinarily consistent attitude toward it; and that attitude is exploitative.

Machiavelli said emphatically that what he wanted to do was to go right straight to the *verità effettuale della cosa*.[26] We of a slightly less self-confident era may at once admire and smile at Machiavelli's bold certitude that effective truth is so easy to come by and that the road to it is straight away. But we may be quite sure that if he had noticed what he was doing, he would not have felt it mattered a fig as far as the effective truth of the matter was concerned that he sometimes talked as if *lo stato* were the people, sometimes the government, sometimes both, or something else. The effectual truth, the truth that counts, the only truth that matters to Machiavelli in *Il principe*, the only truth that matters to the prince himself, is whether the prince wins out, keeps what he has, holds *lo stato*, or loses out, loses what he had, loses *lo stato*.

In fact it is not very hard to understand why Machiavelli slips so insouciantly from one ostensible meaning of *lo stato* to another. One of the rare instances in *Il principe* in which *lo stato* is not object but subject clears up the difficulty. It is the very first sentence in the treatise.

> Tutti gli stati tutti e' dominii che hanno avuto e hanno imperio sopra gli uomini, sono stati e sono o republiche o principati.[27]
>
> All *stati*, all dominations that have had and have political command over men have been and are either republics or principalities.

So what a prince has is a principality, and a principality is a *stato*; and what a *stato* has, that without which it ceases to be a *stato*, is political command, *imperio*, over men. If the people do not obey, the prince has no real command, and in effective truth he does not hold *lo stato*. If the people obey, but the real command is that of another, the prince in effective truth does not hold *lo stato* either.

It is because of his concern with what he regards as the effective truth of the matter that in *Il principe* Machiavelli uses *lo stato* in one way that must seem alien and unintelligible to any one who reads it with any presently current uses of the word 'state' in mind. For with such uses in mind what can we make of Machiavelli's problem of whether a prince

[26] 15; 30b. [27] 1; 5a.

has *enough state*?[28] For us a state is a state is a state. But to Machiavelli the notion of enough *stato* makes perfectly good sense. When the prince has *lo stato*, he has what *lo stato* is: command over men. If he does not have command over enough men or if his command is not effective enough, he stands in constant danger of losing whatever command over men he has, of having *lo stato* taken away from him. And if he loses all of that command over men that is the best possible evidence that he did not have enough command, or enough men, enough *stato* in the first place.

Again before advancing further we had better follow the sound military principle of consolidating our present gains. It seems to me they are substantial and that they are unlikely to be reversed in the sequel. For what we have discovered is what Machiavelli persistently and dominantly had in mind when he set down the word *stato* in *Il principe*; we have discovered, as it were, the angle of view from which he regarded and considered that word. Persistently and dominantly he had in mind political command over men, and his angle of vision was that of the prince concerned to do what was necessary to acquire and hold *lo stato*, to avoid losing it or having it taken away from him. We have now to inquire whether Machiavelli ever had anything else in mind when he spoke of *lo stato* in *Il principe*, whether he ever shifted his angle of vision. But before we do so, we ourselves need to keep two points in mind. Whatever we find cannot cancel out what we have already found: that the predominance and persistence of the pattern we have just described suffuses the whole of *Il principe*. If by any chance once in a while Machiavelli did have something else in mind when he wrote down the word *lo stato*, he did not have it in mind very often or very long. In the second place it seems to me we have established for ourselves a right to a prejudice, or, to put it more respectably, established a presumption in favor of one signification for *lo stato* as against any and all others. This means that if we run into a doubtful or ambiguous case or two we may hesitate to resolve them in favor of the dominant signification, but we should doubly hesitate to resolve them some other way, for which, in the nature of the case, the presumption is bound to be a great deal weaker.

If in any instances in *Il principe* Machiavelli regarded *lo stato* unexploitatively it must be among those thirty-two occurrences of the term in which an exploitative verb does not control it. Now in a few of these uses the exploitative element is unmistakable even though the environing sentence does not happen to include an exploitative verb. Such for

[28] E.g., 10; 22a.

instance is the sentence in which Machiavelli recommends that among newly conquered people the prince settle colonists to act as 'fetters to the *stato*'.[29] Mostly the context is so indeterminate (Italy was divided into *più stati*[30]) or so ambiguous (the prince controls, defends, establishes, or preserves his *stato*) that it is impossible to make out how Machiavelli was conceiving *lo stato* in the particular instance.

In a few cases the context is somewhat clearer. The beginning, the *principio* of a prince's *stato* is not the time when a body politic ruled by a prince receives its constitutive organization; it is the moment when and the means by which the prince acquires effective command over his subjects. And when in reply to the remark of the Cardinal d'Amboise that Italians do not understand *della guerra*, Machiavelli replies that the French do not understand *dello stato*,[31] he means nothing more esoteric than that the French do not know how to keep a grip on a newly acquired *stato* once they have seized it, a point he has just spent a long chapter proving.

All that remains now requiring close attention is a cluster of eight uses of the word *lo stato* in *Il principe*. Here are six of them:

1. Ferdinand of Aragon 'in the beginning of his reign attacked Granada, and that enterprise was the foundation *dello stato suo*'.[32]
2. In Egypt where the Mameluke Sultan rules not by inheritance but by election, 'although the prince is new, *gli ordini di quello stato* are old and are arranged to accept him as if he were their hereditary lord'.[33]
3. With respect to the danger of an incurable disease developing in *lo stato*, 'It happens in this matter as they say it does in medicine in the case of hectic fever, which is easy to cure but hard to diagnose or treat at the outset, but with the passing of time it becomes easy to diagnose and hard to cure. So it happens *nelle cose di stato*.'[34]
4. 'Like all other natural things that are born and grow fast, *gli stati* that come suddenly cannot have roots . . . so that the first spell of bad weather destroys them.'[35]
5. 'The few do not dare oppose the many who have *la maestà dello stato* to protect them.'[36]
6. 'The principal foundations of *tutti li stati*, new or old or mixed, are good laws and good arms.'[37]

So here we have *lo stato* with institutions, with foundations, a living thing with roots, a living body with sickness and health, a thing possessed of majesty. To this cluster of instances the first and natural reaction might well be, 'Well, here we are at last. This is more like it.' This *stato* that has institutions, foundations, roots, ills, and majesty is a bit nearer to the 'state' one would expect than what we have seen hitherto—

[29] 3; 7a.
[30] 12; 26b.
[31] 3; 10a.
[32] 21; 43b.
[33] 19; 40b.
[34] 3; 8a.
[35] 7; 14b.
[36] 18; 35a–b.
[37] 12; 24b.

that odd-looking contraption that the princely puppeteer competently or incompetently dangles from his strings.

But what do we see when we move in closer? The Granadan war was the foundation of Ferdinando's *stato* in the sense that, while it was on, 'the barons of Castile . . . did not think of rebelling' and by the time it was done Ferdinand had 'gained . . . *imperio* over them without their realizing it'. With the money he had been able to gouge out of the church and the people for that war he was also put in a position to establish his army.[38] So the foundations of Ferdinand's *stato* through the Granadan war were the arrangements he made by means of it for getting and holding command over the Castilians. We have here simply an echo of the first sentence of *Il principe*.

The institutions or *ordini* of the *stato* of the Mamelukes were, as far as Machiavelli was concerned, merely the rules of succession that insured the undisturbed accession of one sultan after another to political command over the Eygptians, in brief to the *stato* in the only sense that we have so far seen Machiavelli giving that word.

Machiavelli's two lapses into organic analogies carry us no further. For though there is talk of roots and of diseases—talk that will ring very familiarly to any one who has had doings with the endless resort to such analogies by medieval and Renaissance writers on the organic, hierarchical structure of society—the roots in *Il principe* are not roots of the body politic and the disease is not a disease of the body politic. The disease that Machiavelli is concerned about is rebellion from within or attack from without against a newly acquired princely possession; the victim of the disease is not the body politic but the ruler; and the remedies involved—planting military colonies in the newly acquired possession, dispossessing part of its population and exterminating the hostile, razing the towns and scattering their inhabitants[39]—may do wonders in saving the prince from the fatal disease of losing his *stato*, but they really cannot be regarded, and of course they were not intended, as specifics for the ills of a body politic. As with the disease so with the roots. They are not roots *of* the body politic by means of which *it* lives and grows; they are the roots that the *stato* of a new prince needs to push down among those over whom *lo stato* has *imperio*, the powers of political command that the prince needs if he is to get a grip on his new possessions.[40] And the *maestà dello stato* seems not much more than the capacity of the prince's power of command to inspire awe in the loutish masses.[41]

[38] 21; 43b.
[39] 5; 11b–12b.
[40] 7; 15a.
[41] 18; 35b.

We have saved the most interesting case for the last. Along with *salvare lo stato* it provides one of the best examples of the proclivity of the human mind to take words in hand and provide them with the sense most in conformity to its own deepest habits and patterns. In Chapter 12 Machiavelli says: 'The principal foundations of *tutti li stati*, new or old or mixed, are good laws and good arms.'[42] We see *buone legge* and *stati* together in a sentence; something clicks in our head; and our eye takes a picture of laws good for the state, for the body politic. Yet what we have taken a picture of is something inside our heads, not something out there in *Il principe*. For we have seen that the new, old, and mixed *stati* of the preceding eleven chapters were not bodies politic but new, old, and mixed tenancies of command over men. And we have *not* seen that what Machiavelli deems good in *Il principe* is necessarily good for the body politic. Yet clearly the likelihood of any inference we make as to whom or what the laws should be good for depends on whom or what in *Il Principe* 'good' things are ordinarily good for. Now if we examine *Il Principe* to find out whom the good is good for and the bad ill for, we discover that for the six times that *buono*, *bene*, *malo*, and *male* refer to the welfare or illfare of the subjects or people, they refer to the advantage or disadvantage of the prince forty-one times. So in the sentence under consideration there are about seven chances that *buone legge* are laws to the advantage of the prince to one that they are laws for the welfare of the body politic. That they are in this particular case under consideration good for the prince rather than for the body politic is quite clear in the context provided by the preceding sentence: 'It is necessary for a *prince* to have his foundations good else it follows of necessity that *he* will fall to ruin.'[43] So the good laws and good arms that are the good foundations for *lo stato* are good in the sense that they will keep the prince from falling into ruin, that is, from losing *lo stato*.

And now two last and curious instances of the use of *lo stato*:

> 'Nabis . . . sustained the onslaught of all Greece and a Roman army victoriously, and against them defended *la patria sua e il suo stato*.'[44]

> The new prince 'ought to . . . think of everything of every sort to *ampliare la sua città e il suo stato*'.[45]

What makes these instances curious is a trait of Machiavelli's style in *Il principe*. He is relentlessly spare; he is never redundant. Pairings like

[42] 12; 24b.
[43] *Ibid.*
[44] 9; 21b.
[45] 21; 45a.

'brave and bold', 'man of honesty and integrity', 'magnificence and splendor' do not occur in *Il principe*; two conjoined terms invariably signify two different things. The quotations above therefore imply a clear distinction in Machiavelli's mind between *patria* and *stato*, *città* and *stato*, in which neither can include nor yet be subsumed under the other. The difference is such that the defense of the *patria*, the improvement of the *città* cannot be taken necessarily to involve or be involved in the defense and improvement of *lo stato*. What is the substance of the difference? It seems to me that for Machiavelli the *patria* and the *città* are entities to which men belong but which do not belong to any man. The prince does not acquire, or hold, or lose a *patria* or a *città*; he does acquire, hold, lose *lo stato*. And while he has it, *lo stato* belongs to him.

And so our detailed investigation ends. We have gone through all occurrences of *lo stato* in *Il principe*. The outcome suggests some small modification of the customary verdict on Machiavelli's consistency, at least as far as his use of *lo stato* in *Il principe* is concerned. He used the term there 109 times in some political sense, and in not a single instance out of 109 does he use it in a way clearly to preclude the connotation established by the way he unambiguously used it at least four-fifths of the time. In no instance is it demonstrable that he conceives *lo stato* in a fashion that is other than manipulative and exploitative or in conjunction with anything but power of command over men.

As we searched in vain for some meaning of *lo stato* that carried the implication that it was *not* merely an instrument for the manipulation and exploitation of people at the hand of the prince, we must have become aware that *lo stato* was not at all 'the state' as we ordinarily conceive it today. This is not because today we never conceive of the state as the object of the manipulations and schemes of those who would exploit its powers of political command. We do indeed conceive of it that way to some extent. But we conceive of it in other ways too, and this makes a real difference. Now what distinguishes Machiavelli's *stato* from the state as we ordinarily think of it is not that he thinks of *lo stato* in an exploitative way, but that in *Il principe* he does not think of it in any other way. We have already stumbled on a phrase to express the difference. For us the state is among other things a body politic. In *Il principe lo stato* is never a body politic. But if *lo stato* is not a body politic we have run head on into a difficult problem. One of the most important intellectual achievements ascribed to Machiavelli is the conception, however embryonic, of the idea of reason of state. But if *lo stato* is not the state in *Il*

principe, then how can there be any reason of state in *Il principe*? After all, it is hard to see how one can have reason of state unless there is a state for there to be reason of.

The English phrase 'reason of state' and the German phrase *Staatsraison* are unfortunate, or at least inadequate, translations of the Italian *ragione di stato* and the French *raison d'état*. They are unfortunate because they obscure the fact, clear in both Italian and French, that reason of state is in some measure concerned with the right of the state. As the modern state expanded its authority and increased the range of its activity, it more and more frequently required men, and particularly statesmen, to act in ways that did not square with current codes of private conduct. Now the theory of reason of state does not merely allege that rulers and their officials sometimes act badly, nor does it merely allege that the state *can* make its subjects behave badly. It may note these facts, but only in order to assert that rulers and statesmen under certain circumstances *ought* to act badly from the point of view of private morality, that under certain conditions subjects ought to act and to be made to act in ways contrary to the dictates of their conscience and the ordinary rules of ethics. Reason of state is not merely a statement of fact about the way the rulers of states act; it is also a theory of right; it is concerned ultimately not only with what is but with what ought to be. In fact Rousseau came very close to stating the problem of reason of state in the first chapter of *The Social Contract*. Putting it in Rousseau's language, statesmen everywhere do what is contrary to the ordinary rules of human conduct; what makes it legitimate? For once having asserted that in the pursuit of their calling rulers and statesmen *ought* to be exempt from the laws of morality to which other men are bound, the theorists of reason of state had to say why they should be so. They said with Burke that it was so because the state transcended each and all of the individuals who at any moment composed it, because the state possessed 'the mode of existence decreed to a permanent body composed of transitory parts, wherein by the disposition of a stupendous wisdom moulding together the great mysterious incorporation of the human race, the whole, at one time, is never old, or middle-aged, or young, but, in a condition of unchangeable consistency moves on through the varied tenor of perpetual decay, fall, renovation and progression.' Or they said it was so, with Hobbes, because all subjects had surrendered to the ruler of the state their absolute right to do whatever they thought would conduce to their own self-preservation. Because, somewhat more briefly, the state is a body poli-

tic, because indeed it is, par excellence, *the* body politic. Since it has a life beyond the life of the individual, be he statesman or private person, since on its health, well-being, and survival the welfare of all its citizens now living and of their children yet unborn, and of their children's children, depends, for these reasons those who serve it must set aside the qualms of private conscience when its welfare is engaged, must do whatever needs be done to defend it from its enemies, without and within; for in so transcendent a cause the end justifies the means.

This is the kernel of the theory of reason of state. There is no doubt that Machiavelli had caught the spirit of the doctrine, however limited, crude, and inadequate his formulation of it may be. The formulation will be found in Chapter 9 of Book 1 of the *Discorsi*. There, confronted with the traditional account of the most important single event in the history of Rome—the founding of the city—Machiavelli was confronted also with an acute issue raising the fundamental problem of reason of state. For by that account Romulus founded Rome on the blood of his brother Remus, whom he slew. Was Romulus right to kill Remus? This is the problem that Machiavelli wrestles with in Chapter 9 of Book 1 of the *Discorsi*:

> Many men perchance may judge it a bad example that a founder of a civil polity [*vivere civile*], as Romulus was, should have killed his brother . . . judging that on this account with the authority of their prince's example, citizens out of the ambition and desire to command might take action against whoever opposed their authority.

The argument condemning Romulus

> would be true [he continues] if one did not consider the purpose that induced him to perpetrate this homicide. But this ought to be accepted as a general rule: that it never or rarely happens that any republic or realm may be ordered rightly at the outset or reformed wholly anew beyond the scope of its ancient institutions unless the work of establishing it is performed by one man . . . But the prudent founder of a republic who is of a mind *to wish to advance not himself but the common good, not his own succession but the common fatherland* ought to extend himself to have sole authority, nor will a wise person reprehend any one for any extraordinary action he takes to order a realm or found a republic. It is appropriate that, the act accusing him, the purpose should excuse him, and *when the latter is good*, as that of Romulus was, it will always excuse him; for it is he who is violent in order to destroy, not he who is violent to reconstruct who ought to be condemned . . . but . . . Romulus . . . in killing his brother . . . deserves pardon; *what he did, he did for the common good.*[46]

Surely this passage—in which by the way the word *lo stato* does not once appear—entitles Machiavelli to whatever accolade is due to a man who on the margin between the middle ages and the modern era discerns the

[46] *Discorsi* I, 9; Mazzoni and Casella, pp. 72b–73a. Italics mine.

wave of the future through the mists of the past. At the edges no doubt his argument is rough and inconclusive: the intellectual innovator never can produce the neat and lapidary demonstrations possible to successors who have the advantage of his pioneering work to go by. But the center of the argument, the main points, are already well formed.

1. The *vivere civile*, the civil polity, the body politic, the state is itself a transcendent good; it stands over the goods of private intercourse and private morality.

2. To establish a state or to save it in time of danger any extraordinary act is permissible and excusable.

3. He who perpetrates such acts is pardonable because of the good for which he perpetrates them; *accusandolo il fatto, lo effetto lo scusi*, although the act accuses him, the effect excuses him; the end justifies the means. We need not ask whether the ideas so expressed precisely conform to the lineaments of the doctrine of reason of state in its full development. The child does not have the complete form of the adult but he carries the life and the potentiality for attaining to that form. So it is, as regards the idea of reason of state, with Chapter 9 of Book 1 of the *Discorsi*.

But that really is not the question after all. The question concerns *Il principe*. In *Il principe* what justifies those *azioni estraordinarie* that are justified by reason of state in the *Discorsi*? Is it reason of state in *Il principe* too?

We must repeat, before we can find reason of state in *Il principe*, we have to find a state, a body politic, there. For there is a body politic in the *Discorsi*. Sometimes it is called *il vivere libero, il vivere civile, il vivere politico, il bene commune*, and so on.[47] When we look in *Il principe* for the words that Machiavelli used in the *Discorsi* to signify the state, we do not find them. *Vivere libero, vivere civile, bene commune*—none of them are to be found.[48] There remains *lo stato*, but we already know about that. One thing that *lo stato* never means in *Il principe* is the state conceived as a political body transcending the individuals who compose it.

Now the theory of reason of state is an ethical doctrine. It may be a very bad ethical doctrine, or a very good one, or like most ethical doctrines it may be just middling. It is an ethical doctrine because it is concerned with the good and the right. It neither rejects nor seeks to destroy established rules, nor does it regard them as items of indifference to

[47] E.g., *Discorsi* I, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9; Mazzoni and Casella, pp. 62a, 62b, 64b, 68a, 69b, 72a.

[48] *Vivere* appears with *libero* several times in *Il principe*, but not as a substantive, only with the meaning 'to live in freedom'.

statesmen. In the best tradition of western thought it tries, however inadequately, to bring a modicum of order into an emergent area of human activity with which the established rules are patently and hopelessly incompetent to deal. To make such adjustments inevitably involves modification of the previous arrangement of the web of values. It may be argued that the modifications implicit in the conception of reason of state were ultimately subversive of the web of values into which that concept was projected. This indeed may be true by logical implication. It might be somewhat harder to demonstrate as a matter of historical fact. And here below we live amid the temporal contingencies of history, not amid the eternal necessities of logic. Whatever the ultimate consequences of the idea of reason of state, that idea neither describes nor justifies the relation between the prince and *lo stato* as that relation is consistently conceived of in *Il principe*. To that conception it is in some measure an alternative, however unsatisfactory.

In *Il principe* there is no justification for the relation of the prince to *lo stato*. There can be none because *lo stato* is not a matrix of values, a body politic; it is an instrument of exploitation, the mechanism the prince uses to get what he wants. So instead of reason of state we get the *verità effettuale della cosa*. The effective truth of the matter is that if the prince exploits *lo stato* with astuteness he will keep his grip on *lo stato* and even tighten it, and will be glorified as a man of honor and praised by every one, for, as Machiavelli says in the climactic sentences of *Il principe*, the mob is always gulled by appearances and by the way things work out, and the mob is all there is in the world. So *si guarda al fine*, take heed of the result.[49] The result is political success or failure. It is not right to succeed, it is not wrong to fail. It is merely success to succeed, and failure to fail. Right is not might, might is not right; might is might, and that is what *Il principe* is about. As to right—any kind of right of the individual or of the state—that is not really what *Il principe* is about.

We said before that *lo stato* as conceived by Machiavelli in *Il principe* is radically at variance with the modern conception of the state. That is only partly true. One nineteenth-century writer, who in succeeding years gained a considerable following, did conceive of the state precisely as Machiavelli conceived *lo stato*. To him states were simply the instruments by means of which the rulers exploited the ruled for their own ends, employing every device of force and fraud that Machiavelli deemed indispensable if rulers were to *mantenere loro stati*. And they were nothing

[49] 18; 35b.

else whatever. For Karl Marx, however, the rulers were not individuals but social classes. And for him in the end the state, *lo stato*, the ultimate instrument of ruling class exploitation, itself would wither away. This illusion Machiavelli—a man with a considerable capacity for illusions—never entertained.

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APPENDIX A

After I had completed the foregoing exhaustive study of the term *lo stato* in *Il principe*, Prof. Felix Gilbert called to my attention the section in Fredi Chiappelli, *Studi sul linguagio del Machiavelli* (*Bibliotechina del saggiatore*, Florence, 1952), pp. 59–73, in which the author embarks on a similar undertaking. Chiappelli's conclusions are widely at variance with mine, and as a student of linguistics working with his native tongue he performs with a technical skill which I, as an amateur autodidact in Italian, do not command. Therefore, in order to show that my intransigeance is not merely the consequence of pique or obtuseness, it becomes necessary for me to indicate why after reading his work I did not alter a line of my own study.

Chiappelli's general thesis is that in contrast to Machiavelli's other works *Il principe* is a technical or scientific treatise. One piece of evidence that this is so, according to Chiappelli, lies in the especially scientific way in which Machiavelli uses the term *stato* in *Il principe*. In *Il principe* in 75% of its occurrences 'the word *stato* has the signification of "the state" in complete maturity: the fundamental implications (political, national, territorial) coexist in the individual passages, whether the state is treated syntactically as "object" or as "subject" ' (p. 68). In all those occurrences 'the term *stato* has unequivocally political-national territorial signification of the strictly technical sort, the subjective and objective senses being fused' (p. 61). It is to Chiappelli's specific analysis of the use of *stato* in *Il principe*, not to his more general arguments, that we here address ourselves.

Chiappelli's procedure then is 'to examine in their totality' (*ibid.*) *all* the instances of the use of *stato* in *Il principe*, and to set down in their context the instances in which it is used 'unequivocally' in 'the political-national territorial signification' of 'the state'. We leave aside for the moment the question of whether the instances Chiappelli cites actually have

the signification he ascribes to them. He actually cites 55 passages in which *stato* occurs 64 times (pp. 61–68) and asserts that these passages 'comprise 75% of the total material'. They do not in fact do so. If they did, *stato* would occur only 85 times in *Il principe*. It actually occurs at least 114 times, introducing an error of 25% into Chiappelli's figures. The supposed instances cited of the use of *stato* to mean 'state' are thus reduced from 75% to 56%. From the fictitious 75% (actually 56%), Chiappelli distinguishes a fictitious 10% in which *stato* is taken to mean rank, condition, or status because it appears with the verbs *mantenere*, *perdere*, and *togliere* while when it appears with *acquistare* and *tenere* he takes it to mean 'the state'. The grounds for this distinction are in the first place wholly obscure. In *Il principe perdere* and *togliere* are frequently contraposed to *acquistare* and *tenere* in reference to the *stato* or to a particular kind of *stato*, the *principato* (e.g., 'acquisto lo stato con la fortuna del padre e con quella lo perde'), so it is difficult to see how *stato* could denote 'the state' in connection with the former and 'rank' in connection with the latter.[50] In the same way *mantenere* is used in conjunction with *acquistare* in reference to *lo stato*.[51] In the second place, Chiappelli's distinction runs against the facts. There are instances of the use of *mantenere*, *perdere*, and *togliere* where the reference clearly *cannot* be to rank or status in the ordinary sense, e.g., Louis XII *ha perduto* Lombardy.[52] Finally the distinction is artificial. Whatever jurists may have had to say in the matter, Machiavelli made no fine discriminations between a prince's status or condition and his *stato*, his possession of rule over men. To lose the latter was in fact to lose the former; there is not a single instance in *Il principe* in which losing *lo stato* or having it taken away does not signify loss of actual possession of command.

We need not consider the remaining '15%' of occurrences of *lo stato* that Chiappelli deals with. We need only note that even if the 56% of the occurrences to which he ascribes the signification 'the state' were actually intended by Machiavelli to mean just that, and to have a strict technical value, then Machiavelli made things inordinately hard for his readers 44% of the time by throwing *lo stato* in with some non-technical meaning.

The truth of the matter is that in the 64 occurrences of *lo stato* that Chiappelli actually cites as meaning 'the state' in the technical sense, that national-political territorial entity is often quite patently in the eyes of

[50] 7; 14b–15a; see also 3; 7b and 5; 12a.
[51] 11; 22a; see also 6; 14a and 7; 15b.
[52] 3; 10a.

the beholder rather than in the text of *Il principe*. Consider only a few examples.

> The arms with which a prince defends *il suo stato* are his own or are mercenary.[53]
> Annibale having died, and no one remaining who could *reggere lo stato*. . . .[54]
> To hold *lo stato* securely some princes have disarmed their subjects.[55]

Now it is quite evident that in each of these instances *lo stato could* mean 'the state' as defined by Chiappelli, *if* 'the state' was in fact what Machiavelli had in mind; what is lacking is any grounds for believing that in any of the three cases *lo stato* does *indeed* mean 'the state', that 'the state' *was* what Machiavelli had in mind. Chiappelli's analysis falls into the very trap that I pointed out and tried to avoid in the present essay, the trap of committing oneself in advance to some exact denotative definition of *lo stato* and then looking for it in *Il principe*. This is a trap because, given the nature of the data, it leads inevitably to a pre-cooking of the results. It does so because the contexts in which *lo stato* appear are often so indeterminate as to make *possible* any of three or four denotations of *lo stato*. This assertion is easy to test. Take (1) 'territory', (2) 'the governed', (3) 'ruling power', (4) 'status, position, or rank', (5) 'national-political territorial entity', and try substituting *each* of them wherever *lo stato* appears in *Il principe*. It is rare indeed that two of the meanings will not fit. It is surprising how often three, four, or occasionally even all five of the meanings will fit.

By avoiding the quest for some denotation of *lo stato* prescribed by the investigator rather than by Machiavelli, the method we adopted prevented us from accidentally pulling out of our investigation results that we ourselves put into it. Whatever Machiavelli meant to denote by *lo stato* (and we have seen that when the denotations are clearly determinate, they are also quite varied), he, and no one else, coupled *lo stato* as object or passive subject with verbs of exploitative tonality, and he did so with remarkable frequency. This is the result not of our preconceptions about the meanings of words but of Machiavelli's use of language. That when *lo stato* is not used passively with exploitative verbs it still *does* practically nothing is also evident from the rarity with which Machiavelli ascribes any action to it, the frequency with which it continues to appear as passive in fact, or at best as neutral and indeterminate. So while freely confessing Chiappelli's superior erudition in the area of our common concern, I am sticking to my story because I think it represents the common-sense view of the matter.

[53] 12; 24b. [54] 19; 36a. [55] 20; 41a.

APPENDIX B

OCCURRENCES OF 'LO STATO' IN 'IL PRINCIPE'

Legend

Column 1: Page and column in *Tutte le opere . . . di Niccolò Machiavelli*, ed. Mazzoni and Casella.
Column 2: Chapter in *Il principe*.
Column 3: Number of occurrences of some form of the noun *stato*.
Column 4: Total number of occurrences of *stato* by chapters.

1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
3a	dedi-	0		15b	VII	0		27b	XIII	0		39b	XIX	0	
3b	cation	1	1	16a	cont.	0		28a	cont.	0		40a	cont.	0	
4a	blank	0		16b		0		28b		0		40b		2	
4b	blank	0		17a		1		29a		0	0	41a		2	10
5a	I	2	2	17b		0		29a	XIV	1		41a	XX	3	
5a	II	0		18a		0	8	29b		0		41b		4	
5b		2	2	18a	VIII	0		30a		0		42a		3	
6a	III	0		18b		0		30b		0	1	42b		5	
6b		3		19a		0		30b	XV	0		43a		3	18
7a		4		19b		1		31a		2	2	43b	XXI	1	
7b		3		20a		2	3	31a	XVI	0		44a		0	
8a		3		20a	IX	0		31b		0		44b		0	
8b		2		20b		0		32a		0		45a		2	3
9a		0		21a		0		32b		0	0	45a	XXII	0	
9b		1		21b		1		32b	XVII	0		45b		1	
10a		1	17	22a		3	4	33a		0		46a		0	1
10a	IV	2		22a	X	1		33b		0		46a	XXIII	1	
10b		6		22b		0		34a		0	0	46b		0	
11a		2		23a		0	1	34a	XVIII	0		47a		1	2
11b		4	14	23a	XI	0		34b		0		47a	XXIV	2	
11b	V	1		23b		4		35a		1		47b		2	4
12a		3		24a		0		35b		3	4	48a	XXV	0	
12b		0	4	24b		0	4	35b	XIX	0		48b		0	
12b	VI	1		24b	XII	2		36a		0		49a		0	
13a		1		25a		1		36b		2		49b		0	0
13b		1		25b		0		37a		1		49b	XXVI	0	
14a		0	3	26a		1		37b		0		50a		0	
14a	VII	0		26b		1		38a		1		50b		0	
14b		3		27a		1	6	38b		0		51a		0	
15a		4		27a	XIII	0		39a		2		51b		0	0

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Alessandro Piccolomini's Commentary on the *Poetics* of Aristotle

RECENT scholarship dealing with Renaissance literary criticism has unduly neglected a very significant commentary on the *Poetics*, the *Annotationi nel libro de la Poetica d'Aristotele* by the Sienese humanist Alessandro Piccolomini. This commentary has, indeed, drawn the attention of Ebner, Saintsbury, Spingarn, Guerrieri-Crocetti, and Croce, but only in an incidental or fragmentary manner. Maria Rossi, in her monograph on Piccolomini, rehashed for the most part the comments made by Ebner in the nine pages she devoted to the *Annotationi*.[1] Subsequently, Prof. Toffanin, in propounding his theory that Italian romanticism can be traced back to the sixteenth century, distorted the meaning of the *Annotationi* in order to make Piccolomini a precursor of Vico and Manzoni.[2]

But the importance of Piccolomini's contribution was not always underestimated in the past. Most writers were impressed with the unusually faithful interpretation of Aristotle's text and the clarity of expression of the commentary. As evidence of this we might recall that Tasso, shortly after completing his *Gerusalemme Liberata*, looked hopefully to the *Annotationi* for a solution to the artistic problems which beset him. In a letter to Luca Scalabrino the poet praised the new treatise above those of other Italian commentators.[3] He also rated it with Castelvetro's *Poetica*, but could not decide which was better. In that of the Modenese critic he found greater erudition and inventiveness combined with a

[1] Maria Rossi, 'Le opere letterarie di Alessandro Piccolomini', *Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria* III (1910), 289–328; IV (1911), 3–43.

[2] G. Toffanin, *La fine dell'umanesimo* (Torino, 1920).

[3] T. Tasso, *Opere* (Milano, 1804), III, 153. The letter to Scalabrino is dated 15 October 1575. Tasso's reaction to Piccolomini's theories is discussed by G. Di Niscia, 'La Gerusalemme conquistata e l'Arte poetica di T. Tasso', *Propugnatore*, N.S. II:1 (1889), 272–299; II:2 (1889), 103–138, 442–473. Cf. also J. Cottaz, *Le Tasse et la conception épique* (Paris, 1942).

quixotic attitude, while in that of Piccolomini he saw 'maggior maturità di giudizio, e forse maggior dottrina in minor erudizione, ma senza dubbio dottrina più aristotelica, e più atta all'esposizione de' libri Aristotelici' (*ibid.*).

In the eighteenth century the English critic Thomas Twining acknowledged the same 'mature judgment' and faithful Aristotelian exposition, for, in utilizing extensively the notes of the commentary, he says: 'Of the translations and commentaries written in the Italian language there is one, which deserves particular notice, though by what hard fate I know not, it seems scarce to have been noticed at all: I mean that of Piccolomini. His version, though sometimes rather paraphrastical, is singularly exact; and, on the whole, more faithful to the sense, or at least to what I conceive to be the sense, of Aristotle, than any other that I have seen.'[4] After this tribute to the merits of the *Annotationi*, the English critic, using words reminiscent of Tasso, contrasts the sedateness of Piccolomini's scholarship with the quixotism of Castelvetro and concludes that in his opinion the former 'fairly endeavoured to understand his author; and, which is no small praise, seems always to have understood himself'.

This work, which Tasso and Twining were willing to place on the same level, if not a higher one, with the treatises of Segni, Minturno, Scaliger, Vettori, and Castelvetro, in reality was studied extensively in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As a source it was used not only by commentators in Italy, but also by those of France, England, and Spain, who, however, often neglected to acknowledge their borrowings.[5] In view of this history, an analysis of the literary theories contained in the *Annotationi* should prove beneficial, for besides enabling us to ascertain the extent of Piccolomini's faithful interpretation of the *Poetics*, it should serve to correct some erroneous notions that have been entertained about the commentary by more recent critics.

The *Annotationi di M. Alessandro Piccolomini nel libro della Poetica d'Aristotele con la traduttione del medesimo libro in lingua volgare* was first printed in Venice in 1575, five years after the first edition of Castelvetro's work.[6] It was preceded in 1572 by a straight translation of the Aristotelian trea-

[4] T. Twining, *Aristotle's Treatise on Poetry* (London, 1812), II, xxvi.

[5] An example is the theory of verisimilitude borrowed from Piccolomini by López Pinciano in his *Philosophia Antigua Poetica* (Madrid, 1596).

[6] L. Castelvetro, *La Poetica d'Aristotele vulgarizzata* (Vienna, 1570).

tise, *Il libro della Poetica d'Aristotele tradotto di greca lingua in volgare*. The commentary itself was already completed in 1571, but owing to difficulties Piccolomini encountered with his Sienese publisher, it did not appear until four years after its composition.[7]

Although this work appeared at the close of Piccolomini's prolific career as a writer, it cannot be regarded as a sign of a belated interest in the *Poetics*, or of a culminating point in his so-called conversion.[8] It is not probable that such an active scholar as Piccolomini could remain unaffected by the controversies which occupied many a critic of his day.[9] The desire to interpret the Aristotelian treatise actually manifested itself at a very early date, in all probability during his student years in Padua (1538–42). At both the university—famed as an Aristotelian and Averroistic stronghold—and the newly constituted Accademia degli Infiammati many of the theories stemming from the *Poetics* were already in the air.[10] The members of the academy, for instance, mostly teachers or students at the university like Maggi, Varchi, and Piccolomini himself, made the public exposition of the Aristotelian treatise part of their regular academic activities. As president of the Infiammati in 1541, Piccolomini was instrumental in inviting Bartolomeo Lombardi of Verona to expound the *Poetics* before the members of the academy. Lombardi began his lectures in December of that same year, but sudden death prevented him from completing them.[11] Piccolomini's association with Lombardi, and especially with Maggi (his teacher at the university), Varchi, and Speroni is a clue not only to the origin of his interest but also to the ultimate filiation of some of his critical concepts. Furthermore, it may be remarked that his earliest pronouncements on poetic theory, attesting to a familiarity with the Aristotelian text, appeared in his *Institu-*

[7] Piccolomini, *Il libro della Poetica d'Aristotele* (Siena, 1572), preface 'ai lettori', dated 21 October 1571.

[8] This view is presented by Elena de Vecchi, 'Alessandro Piccolomini', *Bull. Sen. di St. Patr.*, N.S. XLI (1943), 438.

[9] Piccolomini himself states: 'Io già molti anni sono, ho hauuto desiderio di scriuere qualche cosa in lingua nostra sopra questo libro, che ci è restato della Poetica d'Aristotele, per essermi sempre paruto tale, che fusse stato bene speso ogni studio, & ogni fatica, che ci fusse fatta sopra' (*Annotationi*, preface 'ai lettori'). Henceforth all references to the *Annotationi* will be made in the text itself.

[10] The reader will find more information on this academy in my forthcoming article, 'An Account of the Early Life of the Accademia degli Infiammati in the Letters of Alessandro Piccolomini to Benedetto Varchi'.

[11] Piccolomini's letter to Varchi (4 December 1541), *Autografi Palatini*, Vol. II, MS. no. 73, Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence.

tione de l'homo nobile, completed in Padua in 1540, and in the dedicatory letter of his *Cento sonetti* printed in Rome in 1549.[12]

As an explanation for the delayed publication of his commentary Piccolomini asserts that he was temporarily dissuaded from undertaking the task by what he thought were the epoch-making contributions of Maggi (1550) and Vettori (1560). Since several important issues still required clarification in spite of Vettori's *Commentarii*, he felt compelled to bring out his own exegesis and thus he carried out the plan conceived years before (*Annotationi*, preface 'ai lettori').

A striking feature of the *Annotationi* is the repeated reference to a group of commentators as 'alcuni spositori in lingua nostra' as opposed to the specific mention of the names of Maggi, Vettori, Robortello, Scaliger, Giraldi, and others. In most cases the arguments of these 'spositori', introduced for the sake of refutation, can be identified as those of Castelvetro, whose name, however, never appears in the commentary. This deliberate omission may have been prompted by the fact that Castelvetro had been excommunicated by the Catholic Church.[13] As a prelate and, in 1574, already Archbishop of Patras and Coadjutor of Siena, Piccolomini may have deemed it prudent to delete the name just before sending his manuscript to print in 1575.[14]

Castelvetro's *Poetica* apparently had a dual effect. It prompted Piccolomini to publish his own commentary and to refute Castelvetro as well. To the Sienese who had hoped that 'altri huomini dotti' would eventually add to the clarity of the *Poetics*, Castelvetro's commentary must have seemed a step in the wrong direction (*Annotationi, ibid.*). Indeed, the *Poetica* re-established a purely hedonistic end for poetry, set forth new and strict rules for the drama, advocated a closer connection between history and poetry, and finally testified to the author's un-Aristo-

[12] In the *Cento sonetti* many traditional ideas about poetry are found side by side with Aristotelian concepts such as imitation regarded as the essential difference between a true poet and a versifier. See also *Della institution morale* (Venice, 1560), bk. IV, chs. IX and XI.

[13] F. H. Reusch, *Der Index der verbotenen Bücher* (Bonn, 1883), I, 581.

[14] With reference to the relationship of the *Annotationi* with Castelvetro Apostolo Zeno says: 'Il *Piccolomini* nelle sue *Annotazioni* non nomina mai il *Castelvetro*; ma certo è, che intende parlar di lui fra quegli *Spositori in lingua nostra*, che sono da esso impugnati' (*Biblioteca della eloquenza Italiana*, Venezia, 1753, I, 251). P. Operti, in his article on Piccolomini in the revised edition of the *Dizionario storico della letteratura italiana* (Torino, 1952), p. 868, states inaccurately that Piccolomini reacted against the theories of Patrizi (as well as against those of Castelvetro and Vettori). Piccolomini died in 1579 and, obviously, could not react against Patrizi's commentary which was printed for the first time in 1586.

telian approach in his recourse to the principle of the 'difficulty overcome'. Thus Piccolomini sought to counteract the effect of Castelvetro's notes with what he thought was a stricter adherence to the true Aristotelian sense. These, of course, are only some of the motives that compelled Piccolomini to write and it would be unwarranted to claim that his treatise was intended merely as a rejoinder to Castelvetro. His was simply a long repressed contribution which, to be more timely, had to comprise a refutation of the Modenese critic's theories with which he sharply disagreed.

Piccolomini's original plan had been a complete exegesis of the *Poetics*. But owing to the fact that by 1571 the text had been amply annotated by previous critics, instead of repeating the arguments with which he concurred, he narrowed his scope to a clarification 'per via d'annotationi' of points that still remained obscure (*Annot.*, *ibid.*). Following the method used by Maggi, he divides the text of the *Poetics* into 157 particles, all of which are rendered into Italian from the original Greek.

Like most critics who had read Plutarch and Diogenes Laertius, he considers the *Poetics* the only extant part of a larger work comprising one or two more books which may have dealt with comedy and, possibly, dithyrambic poetry. He is well aware of the lacunae and interpolations of the original text, but at no time does its unevenness lead him to suspect (as Castelvetro did) that the work might have been Aristotle's lecture notes or the memoranda of one of his students. He does make it clear, however, that he regards the fragment as a manual of instruction for poets. Hence he rejects Maggi's theory that the treatise was only a discussion of the nature of poetry (*Annot.*, preface).

Poetry, according to the *Annotationi*, is a superior function of the practical intellect. It is an art with a pre-eminently utilitarian purpose. Since all the arts are useful, it is inconceivable that poetry, the most noble of them all, has only delight as its end. Robortello and Castelvetro argued that poetry aims exclusively at producing pleasure, but such an end would make it less noble (*ibid.*). Piccolomini favors instead the *docere delectando* theory with pleasure as a secondary and subordinate end. He explains: 'In no way is it to be believed that so many most excellent poets, both ancient and modern, would have applied themselves so much and so diligently to this most noble faculty, if they had not known and believed that they could profit human life thereby, and if they had not thought

that we would receive proper instruction from the examples of those they might place before us in their imitations, like images and portraits of the greatest virtues and basest vices.'[15] Poetry, then, must fulfill a didactic end, that of instructing and directing us in life. The primitive poets—who bear no resemblance to those of the *Scienza nuova*—discovered in poetry a device for pleasantly administering the bitter pill of Lucretian fame to the ignorant and recalcitrant masses (*Annot.*, pp. 371, 372).

The pedagogical purpose assigned to poetry acquires moralistic overtones in the phrase 'immagini, & ritratti di somme virtù, & di sommi vitij'. Like Maggi and the majority of sixteenth-century critics, our author holds that poetry, by representing virtuous men, places before the reader models that should be emulated. The representation of vices and misdeeds teaches him to despise bad actions. Such moral lessons are best imparted by poetry because, when it represents vices and misdeeds as deserving of blame and censure, we dispose ourselves to hate and flee from such actions, this end being more effectively achieved by poetic representations of this type than by any efficacious or direct warning.[16] Similarly Varchi reasoned that, because of its *exempla*, poetry is a more convincing and effective pedagogical tool than either philosophy or rhetoric.[17]

In most commentaries of the *cinquecento* the didactic function of poetry went hand in hand with the prerequisite of encyclopedic knowledge on the part of the poet. The audience that was to be the recipient of such knowledge was not the ignorant populace, for whom the sugar-coated pill would have been logically intended. Instead, most critics, by considering poetry an aristocratic art achieved by endless toil and not by facile improvisation, had in mind the privileged, educated classes as the proper audience. Piccolomini is one of the few to reject both of these ideas. First of all, he denies that the poet must possess a thorough knowledge of all

[15] 'Nè si dee credere, per alcun modo, che tanti eccellentissimi poeti, & antichi, & moderni, hauesser posto tanto studio, & diligentia in questa nobilissima facultà, se non hauesser conosciuto, & stimato di far con l'vso di quella giouamento alla vita humana; & non hauesser pensato, che con gli essempi di coloro, che com'immagini, & ritratti di somme virtù, & di sommi vitij, ci ponesser con le lor imitationi innanzi, noi non hauessimo a restarne instrutti, ammaestrati, & ben'instituiti' (*Annot.*, preface).

[16] 'Se i vitij, & le scelleratezze dall'altra banda sentiamo con poetica imitation esprimere, & esprimendo vilipendere, & vituperare; subito cominciamo a disporci alla fuga, & all'odio delle vitiose attioni; molto più incitati a questo da cotali imitationi, che da quanto si voglia efficace, & aperta particolar'ammonitione' (*Annot.*, preface).

[17] B. Varchi, *Della poetica* (Fiorenza, 1590), p. 576.

sciences; it is sufficient that he be versed in the commonly known phenomena and facts of life which are part of every civilized people (*Annot.*, pp. 397, 398). Furthermore, scientific material as such has no place in poetry, not so much because it cannot be understood by most listeners or readers, but rather because imitation in such matters is not legitimate nor possible. Thus Homer and Virgil deserve greater praise than Lucan and Dante because they avoided the introduction of abstruse facts of science in their works.[18]

As an indefatigable popularizer, Piccolomini had spent a lifetime translating into the vernacular the scientific works of antiquity in order to bring the benefits of the 'new learning' to the people. Such a democratic conception of education was, therefore, basically at variance with the idea that poetry, though possessing a didactic function, should direct its teachings only to the learned ('persone dotte e perite'). In his way of thinking, tragedy and epic poetry are written mainly to profit and to entertain the multitude for the simple reason that there is no need for coating with sweetness whatever instruction is to be imparted to men fond of learning or steeped in erudition; however, this device is needed in order to instruct the populace.[19] This didactic concern of the poet does not have any political connotation as, for instance, in Mazzoni, who teaches that tragedy helps princes and magistrates moderate their ambitions, or in De Nores, who claims that comedy consoles the low people and makes them contented with the monarchy under which they live.[20] Such a conclusion is, doubtless, the logical consequence of the proposition that poetry must *docere delectando* as well as a correct interpretation of Aristotle. Since he is speaking of two forms bearing an aristocratic

[18] 'Da questo, ch'Aristotel dice del douersi stimar' Empedocle più tosto scrittore di cose naturali, & scientifiche, ch'imitatore, & poeta, si può inferire, che faccian cosa impertinente quei poeti, che nelle comparationi, & nelle descrittioni loro introducon passi, & luoghi nascosti nel profondo delle arti, & delle scientie: non tanto perchè dal più degli ascoltatori, o dei lettori tai cose non son' intese; quanto perchè in esse non è leggitima, & ben comportabile imitatione, & per questo molto più son' in ciò da lodare Homero, & Virgilio che Lucano, & Dante, & simili' (*Annot.*, p. 36).

[19] '. . . così le tragedie, come gli epici poemi, si compongon principalmente per giouare, & dar diletto alla moltitudine; conciosiacosachè alle persone perite, & giuditiose, & amiche delle virtù & delle scientie, non faccia di mestieri per instruirle, & per giouar loro di condire col diletto gli amaestramenti, & gli auuertimenti, che si dian loro; come è necessario di farlo per instruire la moltitudine. La onde così le tragedie recitandosi in Scena, come gli Epici poemi, recitandosi nelle piazze in corone d'huomini, riguardano per lor legittimi Spettatori la moltitudine' (*Annot.*, p. 415).

[20] J. Mazzoni, *Della difesa della 'Commedia' di Dante* (Cesena, 1688), p. 20; J. De Nores, *Poetica* (Padova, 1588), fo. 121r.

distinction in the eyes of most critics, Piccolomini's conclusion may be regarded as strange, though not unique, for Castelvetro holds the same view.[21] It is worth noting, however, that this democratic attitude in the *Annotationi* is not linear, but often self-contradictory as, for instance, when Piccolomini aristocratically excludes the populace as a capable judge of works of art.

Piccolomini's assertion that 'the end of poetry is nothing else but the useful produced by pleasure' is traditional.[22] It was not determined, as some argue, by the Council of Trent, for the Counter-Reformation only helped crystallize certain literary currents already long in existence, including the moral function of poetry.[23] The dual function of poetry was a firmly established principle much before the revival of Aristotle's treatise. One source was the *Ars poetica*, which Piccolomini glossed in 1574.[24] His repeated appeals to the authority of Horace in settling some of the thornier issues of the *Poetics* prove that he read this work with the *Ars poetica* in mind.[25] It is not surprising, then, that, like many a contemporary, he grafted Horatian elements on to the Aristotelian treatise, including the *utile dulci*.

It is a known fact that Aristotle's use of the term *imitation* was variously construed during the *cinquecento*. Some commentators, unable to penetrate its intimate significance, understood it as a mere 'photographic' reproduction of reality. Piccolomini subscribes to the opposite view, giving *mimesis* a wider connotation, not exempt from Platonic influences. He clearly perceives the dual meaning given the term and the profound distinction made by Aristotle. Imitation, he says, can be of two kinds: 'The one consists in representation, or resemblance, which is properly intended by Aristotle . . . as the genus of poetry; the other consists in following the footsteps of others, in the manner we are wont to say that pupils imitate their teachers, and children the manners and life of their

[21] Cf. V. Hall, Jr., *Renaissance Literary Criticism* (New York, 1945), p. 51.

[22] '. . . potiamo quindi finalmente conoscere, ch'il fine della poesia non sia altro, che l'vtilità col mezo del diletto da lei procacciata' (*Annot.*, preface).

[23] Cf. M. T. Herrick, *The Fusion of Horatian and Aristotelian Literary Criticism, 1531–1555* (Urbana, 1946), p. 44.

[24] Piccolomini's commentary on the *Ars poetica* is part of the codex bearing the title of *Adnotationes in Horatium*, MS. H.VII.25, Biblioteca Comunale, Siena.

[25] I cite as an example the discussion of historical realism in tragedy where Piccolomini says: 'Onde appare, che non solo l'autorità d'Horatio non fauorisce l'opinione, che la tragedia debbi farsi sopra persone non note, ma dal poeta finte; di che egli (com'ho detto), non fa parola; ma chiaramente la contraria opinione aiuta . . .' (*Annot.*, p. 147).

parents.'[26] Both types of imitation are natural to man, but only the first is artistic semblance, while the other is bare imitation. Their diversity arises from the fact that bare imitation consists in 'doing what others do, without knowing or considering the reason for such action'. But artistic semblance 'not only does not follow the example of others, and does not do the same thing that is already done, but makes things different from the pre-existing ones'.[27] *Mimesis* or *rassomiglianza* has as its object the verisimilar; consequently it does not reproduce external reality (the *vero*) as it exists, for, 'if it differed not from reality, it would not be imitation, but truth of fact itself'.[28] Obviously Piccolomini does not interpret *mimesis* as a naturalistic or mechanical reproduction of nature, but as a form of transfiguration.

The critics who defined poetry as an exact copy of nature could claim, without qualms of conscience, that the object of poetry was historical truth or *il vero*. They saved the distinction between history and poetry by resorting to such expedients as verse, inventive genius, and so on.[29] Thus Castelvetro, who initially maintained the distinction between history and poetry like Piccolomini, eventually reversed himself, taking the position that art is merely a reflection of the historical *vero*. It was a different matter with the so-called idealists who had to explain as coherently as possible the difference between truth of fact and artistic semblance, admitting as they did that the latter was not an exact copy of reality. Piccolomini's solution was the familiar theory of verisimilitude, which in his treatment attains its clearest and completest formulation.

According to Piccolomini's theory, neither Robortello's *falso* nor Castelvetro's *vero* is the true subject matter of poetry. Poetry aims primarily and essentially at the verisimilar and only *per accidens* do the false

[26] 'Essendo due sorti d'imitatione, molto tra di lor diuerse; l 'vna, che consiste nel rappresentare, & rassomigliare, della quale intende Aristotele . . . come che genere sia della poesia; & l'altra, che consiste in seguire le altrui pedate, secondo laquale sogliam dire, che gli scolari imitino i lor Precettori, & i figli, i modi, & la vita dei lor padri' (*Annot.*, p. 66).

[27] 'Nè approuar si dee questa distintione, ch'essi fanno, che l'imitatione, ch'è naturale all'huomo, & che si vede nei fanciullini, consista solo in far quello, che si vede fare, senza sapere, o considerar la cagione, perchè così si faccia; & l'imitation del poeta non solo non seguita l'essempio altrui, & non fa quel medesimo, che gia è fatto, ma fa cose diuerse dalle fatte' (*Annot.*, p. 67).

[28] '. . . si come l'imitatione non è lo stesso vero, ma in qualche parte mancante da esso; posciachè se punto da quel non mancasse, non sarebbe l'imitatione, ma la cosa vera . . .' (*Annot.*, p. 24).

[29] Cf. C. Guerrieri-Crocetti, *G. B. Giraldi ed il pensiero critico del sec. XVI* (Milano, 1932), pp. 263–272.

and true enter into it.[30] Specifically, the world from which the poet draws his material is the inward psychological state expressed through actions, for it is not sufficient for poetry to imitate natural or artificial things unless they are related to or connected with the imitation of a human action.[31] True art is not servile copying, for the poet imitates things 'as they ought to be', placing before himself an unrealized idea, 'for the poet should represent things as they ought to be and in their highest degree of excellence, since he is to place before us things as if they were exemplars or almost ideas'.[32]

What differentiates the historian from the poet is not that the one relates the truth and the other fashions falsehoods, but that the one aims at telling things as they really are, while the other strives to tell them as they ought to have been or as they verisimilarly or necessarily could have been, regardless of their being true or false *per se*.[33] Although the verisimilar is the exclusive province of poetry, historical events, or things as they actually happened, gain admittance also, provided they wear an air of probability. Nonetheless, owing to the nature of history, the *vero* rarely becomes the object of poetry, for it is only *per accidens* that it is conjoined with the verisimilar. Similarly, the *falso* is not the essential aim of poetry, which strives after the 'ought to be', yet fiction enters poetry because, like truth of fact, it too may be accidentally united with the verisimilar.[34]

[30] 'Non è dunque necessario, che la poetica imitatione si faccia per se di cosa falsa, o di cosa vera: ma essendo necessario, che per se si faccia di cosa, secondo 'l verisimil d'essa; ne segue, che si come, non solo il falso, ma il vero ancora, si può congiugnere col douuto, & col verisimile; così parimente può per accidente auuenire, che non solo il falso, ma anche il vero, possa diuenir soggetto, & materia della poesia; ma questo accasca (com'ho detto) per accidente' (*Annot.*, preface).

[31] '. . . non basta a far'essere vna imitation poesia, che solamente s'imiti vna cosa, o naturale, o artificiale; se le imitationi di tai cose non seruono, o non s'indirizzano all'imitatione di qualch'attione dell'huomo . . .' (*Annot.*, preface).

[32] ' . . . douendo il poeta porre le cose, secondo che douerebber'essere; & nella maggiore escellentia loro: hauendo egli a porci innanzi le cose come essemplari, & come quasi idee' (*Annot.*, p. 412).

[33] 'La differentia dunque tra l'historico, e'l poeta non consiste veramente in dire l'vno il vero, & l'altro il falso; ma in tener l'vno l'occhio a dire le cose vere, & l'altro a dirle tali, quali douenano, o ver quali verisimilmente, o necessariamente poteuan'essere, o vere, o false che le si fussero . . .' (*Annot.*, p. 158).

[34] 'Onde nasce che più spesso il falso, ch'il vero si truoui nell'imitation poetica: non perchè il falso sia la propria materia della poesia; ma perchè quantunque non solo il falso, ma il vero ancora si possa per accidente congiugner con quello vniuersal, & con quel verisimile; nientedimanco più di rado vi si congiugne il vero, ch'il falso non fa, per la ragion già detta . . .' (*Annot.*, preface).

In spite of all the attenuating circumstances implied in the term 'accidentally', it did not escape Piccolomini's notice, as it did not escape the notice of the much confused Tasso, that the odds turn out in favor of the prevalence of fiction: 'wherefore it happens that the false is found more often in poetic imitation than truth'.[35] This is so because the ideal, which the poet seeks to portray, is a *rara avis* in nature. Were it a constant occurrence, he would not have to depart from the truth of history. Indeed, it is an actual fact that 'just as nature and art very rarely attain in their works the height of their potentialities because of the various impediments that stand in their path, similarly man very rarely is wont to attain the highest degree of perfection in his actions, passions, and character'.[36] The poet's role is that of completing nature and this he achieves through the *falso*, which is an expression of a perfection not attained by nature herself.[37]

As opposed to the historian, the poet 'must aim at the idea and the universal'. In so doing he produces at one and the same time a higher reality, for the *falso* is not just a fiction of the poet; it is the superior aspect of life, the universal according to which he imitates life or completes nature. The *falso* is an untruth only insofar as it is a superior reality not corresponding to a thing in actual existence because 'human actions as they actually occur in a particular person are greatly different from those fashioned by poets, since the latter consider actions and passions in their universal aspect and not as they exist in reality'.[38] In reality the universal as such exists in potency only. The fact that the poet has extracted the universal from the dross of reality constitutes in a way an expression of the *falso*. Today we can readily see how the end product of the theory of verisimilitude, redacted in these terms, could be the abstractness which

[35] 'Onde nasce che più spesso il falso, ch'il vero si truoui nell'imitation poetica . . .' (*Annot.*, preface).

[36] 'Ben è vero, che si come la natura, & l'arte molto di rado arriuano nell'opre loro al sommo delle lor potentie, per gli varij impedimenti, che lor s'oppongono; così parimente l'huomo nelle sue attioni, & negli affetti, & costumi suoi, molto di rado suol toccar'il sommo' (*Annot.*, preface).

[37] This interpretation is in substantial agreement with that of modern criticism. Lane Cooper states: 'The poet is like the Creator in giving to a work of art the organic quality we find in the works of nature. And art completes nature. Omitting the accidental or superfluous, the artist seeks the end toward which nature is striving, and completes the effort in a rounded whole' (*The Poetics of Aristotle, its Meaning and Influence*, Boston, 1923, p. 76).

[38] '. . . e di qui è che le attioni humane che veramente in queste, o in quelle persone singolari accascano, son lontane da quelle, che pongono li poeti in esse, mentre ch'eglino le attioni, & con esse ancora gli habiti, & gli affetti, nel lor vniuersale riguardano, & non nella stessa verità' (*Annot.*, preface).

characterized much of Italian literature from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. For the sake of the ideal, the poet not only sifted out the dross of reality, but also shut out all reality from the world he created. Thus was ushered in the serene, frivolous, and elegant world of Arcadia.

But the merit of Piccolomini's interpretation of the principle of verisimilitude does not lie merely in the clarity and completeness of its enunciation. The value of his contribution stems from the important fact that he is one of the first to understand that the defense of poesy could not be made on the traditional field of gnosiology. With Aristotle showing him the way, he shifts the inquiry into the nature of artistic creation from the field of gnosiology to that of esthetics. He rightly asserts, therefore, that art cannot be charged with the propagation of falsehoods, or praised for its faithful reflection of objective truth. Art has an entirely different purpose, which prescinds from truth or fiction *per se*, and yields another kind of truth, artistic truth, and this is of an esthetic order.[39] This, then, is the only meaning to be derived from Piccolomini's theory of verisimilitude.

Nonetheless, in spite of his keen perception of this great truth, Piccolomini's resolution of the entire question remains essentially intellectualistic (poetry is a habit of the practical intellect) and, consequently, many removes from the fertile and genial intuitions of Giambattista Vico. It must be frankly admitted that the *Annotationi*, notwithstanding its decided merits, impresses us as the product of the typical Renaissance mind which had not yet fathomed the profound meaning of imagination as a prime factor in poetic creation. This truth seems to have escaped Prof. Toffanin, whose contention it is that some of the great intuitions of Vico can be traced back to Piccolomini's explanation of verisimilitude. To the author of the *Scienza nuova* he ascribes the phrase 'la conversione del vero col certo', which he claims to be a derivation from Piccolomini's 'la conversione di esso vero col dovuto e col verisimile'.[40] In reality both these phrases are figments of Toffanin's imagination. The reference, in the case of Vico, is obviously to the opening words of his *De antiquissima Italorum sapientia* which read: 'Latinis verum et factum reciprocantur, seu ut Scholarum vulgus loquitur, convertuntur'.[41] Similarly the words

[39] Cf. G. Saitta, *Il pensiero italiano nell'umanesimo e nel Rinascimento* (Bologna, 1950), II, pp. 468, 469.

[40] Toffanin, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

[41] The quotation is from Vico's *De antiquissima Italorum sapientia*, bk. I, ch. I (*Le orazio-*

attributed to Piccolomini do not exist anywhere in the *Annotationi*, where the only thing resembling them is the phrase 'il vero ancora, si può congiugnere col douuto, & col verisimile', the meaning of which I have already explained in detail. It is clear that in his arbitrary interpolation of both texts Toffanin has attempted to make the facts fit his theory.

Besides this interpolation, Toffanin insists that the use of the term *dovuto* represents the connecting link between Piccolomini and Vico: 'You sense in that *dovuto* the relative vagueness of a profound aesthetic thought which does not succeed in becoming integrated in a conformable dialectic expression.' Thus, while Piccolomini's *dovuto* may seem conventional, in reality it is pregnant with a new content. This new content is no less than 'an intuition conceived in the light of philosophy which taught that man cannot discover "the first principles" by himself: therefore the individual's intimate moral life as a whole, understood in a religious sense, participates in the phenomenon of intuition'.

Toffanin's theory is laboriously far-fetched. If anything, it proves that he has never understood Vico and even less Piccolomini. Between the two authors there is such a chasm of diversity that no 'conversion of truth with certitude' could ever bridge. The role Vico assigned to the imagination makes all the difference between his system and the poetic theory of the Renaissance writer. 'Imagination', he says, 'is more robust in proportion as reasoning power is weak.'[42] The predominance of the intellectual element in poetry is constantly reiterated by Piccolomini, who believes that the type of imitation required of the poet is very different, since the poet uses reason and is regulated by the verisimilar.[43] For him imitation is a natural consequence of his concept of poetry as an intellectual faculty; he lists it among the three rational faculties with logic and rhetoric in accordance with well-established tradition.[44]

It will be recalled that Vico stressed the importance of the primitive theological poets who preceded Homer, whose 'robust fantasy' produced the first poetic works. Piccolomini also speaks of the same poets, but in totally different terms. Mercury Trismegistus, Musaeus, Amphi-

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ni inaugurali, il De Italorum sapientia e le Polemiche, Bari, 1914, p. 131). It appears from this that Toffanin has misunderstood Vico as well as Piccolomini.

[42] G. Vico, *The New Science*, tr. Bergin and Fisch (Ithaca, 1948), Element XXXVI.

[43] 'Douechè l'imitatione, che si richiede al Poeta, è molto . . . diuersa, imitando il Poeta con ragione, & con regola secondo il verisimile' (*Annot.*, p. 67).

[44] Piccolomini, *Instit. morale*, p. 143. For the traditional grouping of poetic with logic and rhetoric, derived from the place of the *Poetics* in the Aristotelian corpus, see P. O. Kristeller, 'The Modern System of the Arts', *JHI* (1951), 511–512, n. 92.

on, and Orpheus, he points out, resorted to the sweetness of poetry to implant religion and the notion of God in the minds of primitive mankind. These poets had a truth to communicate and, in order to make mankind more receptive to their message, they couched it in poetry. This is clearly very unlike the 'robust fantasy' of primitive man that interpreted reality poetically.

One of the fundamental tenets of the *New Science* is the precedence in time of poetry over history; man's robust fantasy predominated when his rational faculty was still weak. The same precedence of poetry is upheld by Piccolomini, who is concerned with refuting Castelvetro's contention that the opposite was true. Piccolomini's statement does not indicate he had perceived the great principle enunciated by Vico. He merely recites what a host of Renaissance commentators had learned from Strabo, that 'flowery prose is nothing but an imitation of poetry. Ornate poetry was the first to make its appearance, and was well received.'[45]

If Piccolomini had in any way apprehended the Vichian principle behind the precedence of poetry, he would have added a new explanation for the origin of language and metaphor. In neither case does Piccolomini make the fertile imagination of early man its prime origin. In his commentary on the *Rhetoric* we find that man used his *better judgment* in giving names to things.[46] The procedure for inventing metaphors also implies the rightful use of reason (*Annot.*, p. 113).

The reader of the *Annotationi* cannot help noticing that the tendency is to treat poetry as a product of reflection and to seek in it a meaning and finality of an intellectual order. For Vico poetry is a spiritual manifestation within a well-defined psychological field of action. It is a natural, spontaneous, necessary expression. Thus poetry is an historical reality of the psychology of primitive man and the first history of mankind must have been poetic. Piccolomini, following closely in Aristotle's footsteps, states that the historian differs from the poet in that the former seeks the truth of fact, while the latter strives after the possible or the 'ought to be'. Therefore in poetry there is need for only a semblance of truth, inasmuch as things must be verisimilar. In prescribing for the poet the rule of the 'universal', the 'verisimilar', the 'ought to be', and the 'necessary',

[45] Strabo, *Geography*, tr. Hamilton (London, 1903), I, ii, 6.

[46] Piccolomini, *Parafrase nel terzo libro della Retorica* (Venetia, 1572), III, 15. Others who have taken issue with Toffanin's theory of Piccolomini as a precursor of Vico are A. Sorrentino, *La Retorica e la Poetica di G. B. Vico* (Torino, 1927), pp. 322–323, and C. De Lollis, 'Idee sì ma anche fatti (a proposito di un libro pieno d'ingegno)', *La Cultura* I, fasc. 3 (15 Gennaio 1922), 97–120.

Piccolomini clearly indicates to what a great extent intellectual considerations are to enter poetry. Finally, there is nothing new about Piccolomini's *dovuto*, which is the term that he, along with all his contemporaries, used for expressing the principle of probability and necessity enunciated by Aristotle.

In his definition of poetry Aristotle sought a wider connotation for the term whereby it would include all works of art. Accordingly, poetry, in the more conventional sense of a versified composition, was to be considered merely a species of art, and artistic imitation and not verse makes the poet. This principle was not always correctly understood by the Renaissance critics who, while conceding the importance and even the preeminence of *mimesis*, were reluctant to include metrical form among the unessential trappings of poetry.[47] Either because of the best examples of classical and modern literature or on account of their interest in creating a social cleavage in literature, they refused to concur completely with Aristotle on this point. Convinced as they were that a work of art could not arise from inspiration only but that it required the mastery of the intricate techniques of versification, they retained verse as a mark of distinction of the aristocratic poet. This attitude was prevalent even among the so-called Aristotelians.[48]

Piccolomini's stand is unique because it evinces a less traditional and, perhaps, a more truly Aristotelian viewpoint. He seems to understand that the term poetry is taken in a wider sense in the *Poetics* and insists repeatedly that *mimesis* is the only mark of distinction between a real poet and a mere versifier. For this reason he ranks the dialogues of Plato, Lucian, and Xenophon as poetic works despite their prose form. That he has grasped the principle and is not reciting it perfunctorily, like his contemporaries, is apparent from his inclusion of verse under the general heading of rhythm. Rhythm is distinct from verse and pervades all forms of speech because 'there can be no dance, or song, or speech whatsoever without rhythm'.[49] Naturally, prose too has its own poetic rhythm, but it is not constrained by the stringent metrical rules applying to verse. Piccolomini speaks of a metrical art which is 'commune alla prosa & al verso' (*Annot.*, p. 276), but this ambivalence, he adds, does not pertain to

[47] Guerrieri-Crocetti, *op. cit.*, p. 312.

[48] *Ibid.*

[49] 'E tanto voglio, ch'al presente mi basti hauer detto in proposito del ritmo: concludendo, che non può essere o ballo, o canto, o come si voglia proferita locutione senza ritmo' (*Annot.*, p. 19).

the 'arte versificatoria', which is a species or a part of metrical art.[50] The accessory nature of verse is also vividly stressed as Piccolomini retraces the origin of poetry: whereas imitation was the primary cause, the pleasure accompanying it and verse were merely secondary ones (*Annot.*, p. 20).

Again, Piccolomini stands apart from other critics in the reasons he gives for retaining verse in spite of its unessential nature with respect to imitation. His final decision to keep verse is not due to a traditional high regard for a form consecrated by the classics or to a snobbish idea about literature, but it is the result of Aristotle's definition of tragedy and epic poetry. That Aristotle reserved verse for superior forms of poetry is a view shared even by modern criticism.[51] The problem presents itself to Piccolomini as a conflict between poetry in the generic sense requiring imitation alone and tragedy defined as 'embellished with verse'. He solves it by resorting to the threefold classification of poetry first expounded by Maggi. In like manner he distinguishes three classes of poets, the most perfect of whom couples verse with *mimesis*, the less perfect imitates with prose (*nudi parlari*), and the least perfect, the versifier, employs verse without imitation in the manner of Empedocles and Lucretius (*Annot.*, p. 21).

Though this scale is devised to resolve what appeared to be a conflict in the *Poetics* and, therefore, to make room for meter, Piccolomini insists by constant emphasis and repetition that verse is an ornamentation that may be dispensed with entirely because *mimesis* alone is essential. Tragedy is a case in point. Abiding by Aristotle's definition, Piccolomini was willing to leave this form its metrical adornment, but with reservations. Reasoning that the dialogues of theatrical pieces must *verisimilarly* conform to the conditions of real life, he decides that verse is inappropriate and superfluous in comedy owing to the strident contrast in the elevated tone of the form and the humbleness of the subject matter.

[50] That Piccolomini has grasped Aristotle's important distinction can be shown by a comparison with the explanation given by L. Cooper, *op. cit.*, p. 20: 'He [Aristotle] does clearly say that metrical composition is not the distinguishing feature of a poet: you might turn Herodotus, or a scientific treatise, into verse, and you would not have a poem. Yet the Homeric tale of Achilles is all the more beautiful for the hexameters in which the imitation is worked out, and tragedy and comedy gain much from the added beauties of metre, song, and dance. Metre does, in fact, come under the general head of rhythm, rhythmical language being a genus, and metres being species of it; and rhythm is also found in the speeches and songs of the drama.'

[51] *Ibid.* Cf. also S. H. Butcher, *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art* (New York, 1951), pp. 144–147.

On the other hand, there exists a fundamental difference between tragedy and comedy, which should also be reflected in the form. For reasons of decorum and verisimilarity, verse, branded as 'too turgid for comic matter', is retained in tragedy. But Piccolomini failed to be convinced by his own reasons, for, almost in the same breath, he adds that meter seems out of place even in tragedy: 'our verses are less turgid for tragic subjects than for comic matter, though in the case of the former they are, perhaps, exceedingly more turgid than is necessary'.[52] Even more indicative of his leanings is the fact that Piccolomini, in the midst of these hesitations, alludes to the possibility that tragedies may some day be written in prose, provided there be a playwright bold enough to take such an initiative.[53]

Whether we agree or not with the reasons he adduces, we must admit that Piccolomini was one of the first and most discerning critics to sanction theoretically the practice of prose comedies and to extend the same principle to tragedy.[54] His rather cautious wording did not deceive later writers, who took up the battle for the proscription of verse from tragedy under the spiritual aegis of Piccolomini. Paolo Beni, for one, in his *Disputatio in qua ostenditur praestare Comoediam atque Tragoediam metrorum vinculis solvere* (1600) acknowledged the pioneering work of Piccolomini who 'non Comoediam solum, verum et tragoediam pedestri sermone non sine dignitate scribi posse contendit'.[55] Though others also took up the standard in the name of the drama in prose, their efforts were thwarted by the triumphant supporters of rigid Aristotelianism.

However, Piccolomini did reflect a more traditional view in suggesting the criterion for choosing the different types of verse forms. To the indigenous *terzina* and *ottava* he prefers the *verso sciolto*. This preference he ascribes to the fact that rime detracts from the elevated tone of poet-

[52] 'I nostri versi manco escedono con il lor tumore, la materia delle cose traghiche che delle comiche; con tutto che quelle parimente escedino troppo più forse che non bisognarebbe' (*Annot.*, p. 28).

[53] 'Et alle ragioni, & alle autorità già dette, s'aggiugne ancora l'esperientia; veggendosi manifestamente, che non solo grandemente dilettano oggi in recitarsi, le commedie in prosa: ma maggior'ancor si truoua diletto in esse, che in alcune, che sene fanno in versi. Il che se ben nella tragedia, com'in poema più graue, & più alto, non è ancor posto in vso; non prometterei io però, che non sian per esser di quei poeti vn giorno, che prendino ardir di farlo . . .' (*Annot.*, p. 28).

[54] C. Trabalza, *La critica letteraria nel Rinascimento* (Milano, n.d.), p. 196.

[55] P. Beni, *Disputatio* . . . (Padua, 1600), p. 17. The same liberal views concerning verse are also shared by Agostino Michele in his *Discorso in cui si dimostra come si possono scrivere le tragedie e le commedie in prosa* (Venetia, 1592).

ry. Epic poetry, in his opinion, could be most suitably written in the *endecasillabo sciolto*, and he is in a quandary when he has to account for the success of Italian epic poems employing the octave or tercets (*Annot.*, p. 384).

The procedure he advocates for the selection of the proper meter is very different from the modern intuitions we find in Giraldi, who posited an intimate connection between form and content, the latter determining the former.[56] With Piccolomini it is simply a matter of taste. The choice depends chiefly on the good 'judgment' of the ears ('dalle ben giuditiose orecchie') as well as the practice of good poets. Ultimately the final judgment in these matters belongs to men of the learned classes,[57] for it rarely happens, he thinks, that the opinions expressed by Italy's cultured elite do not gain acceptance.[58] Strangely enough, the common acceptance of the octave, the meter most often associated with the lower classes, can be ascribed only to the better judgment of the majority of cultured men.[59]

From this it is clear that Piccolomini does not discriminate between forms of verse because the one is popular in origin and the other aristocratic, as was the mode with other critics. His distinction is based on reasons of decorum without social references. The social criterion, or at least the educational one, accounts only for the choice and popularity of

[56] Guerrieri-Crocetti, *op. cit.*, pp. 321–330.

[57] '. . . non dimeno rade volte accade che il giuditio, che nasce dai più di coloro, che imperiti non sono, non sia approuato per migliore, & che col tempo non preuaglia' (*Annot.*, p. 383).

[58] An aspect of Piccolomini's anti-aristocratic attitude toward literature is his condemnation of Tolomei's proposal for the adoption of classical meters in Italian. After a complete discussion of the profound differences existing in classical and vernacular prosody, he adds: 'La onde si può giudicare, quanto si siano ingannati coloro, che hanno voluto indarno tentare d'accommodare le misure dei versi latini a i versi nostri: & coloro parimente, che si son sforzati d'assomigliare a i piedi latini, & greci, come son dattili, spondei, & simili, appropriate sorti di parole nostre; volendo per essempio, che nella parola (pane) sia la sillaba prima breue, & nella parola (pone) sia la prima lunga; non sapendo, nè saper potendo essi il perchè; & non vedendo, che tanto tempo consumiamo in proferir l'vna parola quanto in proferire l'altra, imprese tutte veramente vane, per la diuersa natura, che hanno le parole di queste diuerse lingue' (*Annot.*, p. 280).

[59] 'Onde vedendo noi oggi, che nella lingua nostra, quantunque all'epico poema habbian huomini dotti, & buon poeti, tentato di dare, altri la terza rima, come fece Dante, & altri il verso vndenario sciolto, nondimeno ha preualso, per quel che si vede, l'ottaua rima, & non vedendosi, per quel, che si può vedere, potente ragione, al parer mio, perchè questo sia; parendo in primo aspetto, ch'il verso sciolto douesse quadrar'a tal poema molto; non si può quella commune accettatione ad altra cagione attribuire, ch'al giuditio dell'orechie della maggior parte degli huomini dotti' (*Annot.*, p. 384).

a specific verse form. In matters of taste, therefore, Piccolomini re-echoes the contemporary 'odi profanum vulgus' theme, according to which the populace is not qualified to pass judgment on the merits of a work of art.[60]

Tragedy, as defined in the *Annotationi*, is an 'imitation of a serious and great action, complete, and of a certain magnitude, consisting of a sweetened language, and using in the separate parts of the play the forms and assistance of such embellishment so that, not by way of narration, but through pity and fear, souls may be purged of such passions and perturbations'.[61] In contrast with this rather faithful rendering of the original Greek is Piccolomini's distinction between tragedy and comedy, which bears the familiar earmarks of other contemporary commentaries. The distinguishing feature, he says, is social rank and not the internal or moral nobility demanded by Aristotle. As can be expected once this premise is given, the eminently elevated tone of external nobility pervades tragedy in its entirety. Thus a first requirement is that tragic action be 'serious, grave, and illustrious; it pertains to great personages in whom, it seems, the populace always imagines that almost superhuman bravery and prowess are found.[62] Here again we find the multitude, concerning which Piccolomini and his confreres held rather ambiguous and self-contradictory views, demanding—because of its peculiar concept of life—the high rank of tragedy's heroes. Complying with this canon, the playwright shall make his protagonists heroes, kings, and princes, people in an illustrious, powerful, and exalted position, as opposed to the ordinary and private state of life characteristic of comedy.

But there is also a more profound reason that determines this classification, which otherwise would seem commonplace. Tragic events, as typified by classical drama, cannot be associated with merely any kind of person. Tragic action is found only among persons having 'the power and the freedom to choose and do whatever one wants',[63] and such un-

[60] Cf. Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

[61] 'La Tragedia adunque, diremo, che sia vna imitatione d'attion graue; & magnifica; la quale habbia perfetto compimento, & grandezza ancora; & sia fatta con vn parlare addolcito, con vsar'ella nelle sue parti separatamente le forme, & gli aiuti di tal'addolcimento, a fine, che non per modo di raccontamento, ma col mezo della compassione, & del timore, si purghino gli animi da cosi fatte lor passioni, & perturbationi' (*Annot.*, p. 100).

[62] '. . . ma intende ch'ella sia d'attion seria, & graue, & illustre, & di persone grandi: nelle quali, pare, che sempre il volgo s'immagini, che si debbi trouar valore, & prodezza, quasi più che humana' (*Annot.*, p. 104).

[63] '. . . ponendo lor fra le principalissime parti della felicità, la potentia, & facultà di nominare, & di poter fare ciò che l'huom vuole' (*Annot.*, p. 195).

limited power belongs only to the *principi*. Actions of this sort, performed by persons 'in sommo, & illustre luogo' cannot escape public notice, whereas happenings in the lives of persons 'di bassa conditione' are not taken into account. Therefore, the noble rank required of the tragic hero is a consequence of the idea that only a person privileged with complete freedom of action can effect tragic events. This kind of reasoning is, of course, fallacious, for it presupposes what the populace or the spectator may or may not imagine. Furthermore, it arbitrarily excludes all but the noble few from the capacity for tragic experiences.

After making social nobility the prerequisite for tragic character, Piccolomini next requires the tragic hero to be an historical figure. One reason for insisting on this historical basis is that the deeds of great men are known to all: 'the names of kings and other high ranking personages are known universally, since such personages and names cannot remain concealed'.[64] Another reason is Aristotle's remark that tragedians in his day still kept to real names, whereas writers of comedies invented everything from plot to characters. The majority of Renaissance commentators took these words to mean that the tragic fable should be historical. But another factor favoring this interpretation was the Aristotelian proposition that what has happened is more credible. Piccolomini utilizes all these arguments and concludes that Aristotle demanded historical realism in tragedy. However, when he comes to the passage about Agathon's *Antheus*, he can hardly believe that the philosopher seriously held that wholly fictional tragedy can produce the intended tragic effect.[65] Piccolomini admits that for a while he was inclined to believe that an entirely fictitious tragedy could be effective, but subconsciously he still felt this contradicted the principle of 'What has happened is more credible', and that the historical drama was what Aristotle preferred. In order to be on the safe side, he creates a threefold classification of tragedy that makes room for historical and fictional drama as well. Indicative of the importance he attaches to historical realism is the fact that he rates tragedy founded on historical characters as the most perfect. Second best is the tragedy whose persons are neither too well known nor considered entirely fictional. But the wholly fictional tragedy is so low on this scale of

[64] '. . . essendo li nomi dei Re, & dell'altre persone in alta grandezza poste, vniuersalmente noti, non potendo tai persone, & tai nomi nascosti stare' (*Annot.*, p. 143).

[65] For an excellent treatment of historical realism in Renaissance tragedy and Piccolomini's threefold solution see G. Giovannini, 'Historical Realism and the Tragic Emotions in Renaissance Criticism', *Philological Quarterly* XXXII (1953), 304–320.

perfection that 'it can scarcely retain the legitimate name of tragedy'.[66]

Piccolomini's scale of tragic perfection is a direct function of catharsis. Without catharsis, tragedy does not achieve its end in accordance with Aristotle's definition. Thus there are three degrees of catharsis as there are classes of tragedy. Since what is historically true will produce the best and most permanent tragic effect, catharsis will decrease in proportion to the historical content. The best effect, which is also more permanent, is achieved by historical tragedy, but in the case of the wholly fictional drama, catharsis is limited and ephemeral, lasting only as long as the performance (*Annot.*, p. 151).

It is worth noting that another motive for placing historical tragedy at the top of his scale is Piccolomini's utilitarian concept of poetry. By attaching a moralizing effect to catharsis, Piccolomini is led to seek the best means whereby drama may impart a permanent lesson to its audience. This end he believes can be best achieved by historical realism.

For most Renaissance critics the historical basis of tragedy was not enough; it had to be remote in time also. Because of this precept, it was the practice of the 'Aristotelian' dramatists to select as subjects of their pieces plots laid in antiquity. One can see how this also constituted a device which permitted the poet to depart from the details of history and introduce 'marvelous' or fictional elements with impunity. A modification of this principle was the adoption of material derived not from classical history but from more recent times such as the middle ages, as exemplified by Tasso's masterpiece. But a more revolutionary step in the interpretation of this concept was taken by Piccolomini. Among the historical subjects not previously treated that can be utilized by new writers, he lists the events of modern, contemporary history. Indeed he suggests that such playwrights draw upon such materials as 'the woeful death of Duke Alessandro dei Medici, or Duke Pier Luigi Farnese, or of other similar cases which, so far as can be ascertained, no poet has yet utilized in tragedy'.[67]

66 '. . . in così basso grado sarà ella collocata di perfettione, ch'a gran fatiga potrà ella ritener legittimamente il nome di tragedia . . .' (*Annot.*, p. 152).

67 'Per color'adunque, che han da trouar come primi, nuoue materie, non maneggiate da altri prima, s'hanno da intender in questo luogo (com'hauiam detto) quelli, che sopra di qualche atroce fatto, veramente accaduto, & non tocco da altro poeta in tragedia alcuna, essi li primi si pongono a compor tragedia, com'auuerrebbe (per essempio) s'alcun'oggi si ponesse a far'vna tragedia sopra la miserabil morte del Duca Alessandro dei Medici, o del Duca Pier Luigi Farnese, o d'altri casi simili, dei quali non si sappia per ancora, che sene sia seruito in tragedia, Poeta alcuno' (*Annot.*, p. 213).

The author of the *Annotationi* is fully aware of the problem involved in the interpretation of Aristotle's catharsis and the phrase 'with incidents arousing pity and fear, wherewith to accomplish its catharsis of such emotions'.[68] To most critics of the sixteenth century catharsis meant either a purification or an extinction of the spectator's passions. There was also disagreement as to the emotions to be purified. Maggi, for instance, argued that pity and fear could not be included among the emotions purged, since it is logically inconceivable that pity and fear can be active and passive at the same time and thereby effect their own extirpation.[69] Robortello, on the other hand, thought that the function of tragedy was the complete eradication of pity and fear.

Piccolomini avoids these extreme solutions and presents a midway theory of mitigation or moderation, according to which the passions purged are neither driven out nor purified but merely moderated. As an avowed follower of the Peripatetics, he answers the Platonic argument by asserting the usefulness of human passions. Emotions are natural and necessary to man, but they should be tempered and governed by reason. He condemns the Stoic belief that there can be no peace of mind 'unless all the emotions are completely torn from their roots'.[70] When passions are properly controlled by reason, or their excesses have been purged, they are said to be 'moderated'.[71] Clearly, by catharsis Piccolomini means the purgation of the excess of all emotions, including pity and fear: 'tragedy purges the soul and frees it from excessive emotions, pity and fear being included in this catharsis'.[72] Such purgation involves all

[68] Modern criticism generally agrees in interpreting the Aristotelian catharsis as a form of emotional relief and avails itself of the homeopathic theory of humors, as described in *Politics* 8, 7. L. Cooper states, in subscribing to Bywater's explanation, that the Aristotelian theory of cathartic effect can be recovered with some adaptation of the statements in the *Politics*. 'Pity and fear are elements in human nature, and in some men they are present in a disquieting degree. With these latter the tragic excitement is a necessity; but it is also in a certain sense good for all. It serves as a sort of medicine, producing a *catharsis* to lighten and relieve the soul of the accumulated emotion within it; and as the relief is wanted, there is always a harmless pleasure attending the process of relief' (*op. cit.*, p. 20).

[69] Cf. Trabalza, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

[70] '. . . gli Stoici non pensaron di poter ferma tranquillità, & felicità trouare, o recar nell'huomo, se non con totalmente stirpar gli affetti dalle radici tutti' (*Annot.*, p. 101).

[71] Cf. F. L. Lucas, *Tragedy in Relation to Aristotle's 'Poetics'* (New York, n.d.), pp. 26, 34. The author believes that catharsis does not imply that passions are purged of their impurities, but that the human soul is purged of its *excessive passions*. Furthermore, Aristotle's theory of catharsis suffers from his preoccupation with Plato's charge to which the reply of the *Poetics* was that passions are not to be subdued by abstinence, but governed by reasonable indulgence.

[72] '. . . purga gli animi, & dal souerchio gli libera dagli affetti, dalla qual purgatione non

other emotions 'since not only happiness and hope are moderated, but love also, which is the root and fountainhead of all emotions'.[73]

This theory of purgation turns out to be in praxis very much like the principle of gradual habituation described by other writers. We are informed that, as spectators of tragedy, we see 'how easily man can fall from the peak of good fortune to the lowest state of misery, and how unstable and frail are the goods and pleasures of this life';[74] therefore, we moderate our love for things dear to us so that their loss, which may well occur some day, may not afflict and upset us. Such is the sobering effect of tragedy, which teaches the spectator to face adversity without the disastrous consequences of a nervous breakdown.

Unlike Castelvetro, whose generic concept of poetry hinges on the drama and the stage, Piccolomini remains faithful to Aristotle in maintaining that tragedy fulfills its function even without scenic representation. Thus the mere reading of a tragedy, composed according to the 'Aristotelian' precepts, will be a fruitful experience. The reader may be deprived of the pleasure deriving from the *mise en scène*, but then one should not seek any kind of pleasure in tragedy, but only that which is proper to it.[75] What matters is the tragic effect, which is the proper end of drama, and this is attained even in a mere reading.

It is a known fact that Aristotle's only statement of unity has reference to action. To this the Italian commentators added the unity of time, derived from Aristotle's incidental remark that tragedy endeavors to confine itself to a single revolution of the sun. The unity of place, though implied in the proposition that 'la cosa rappresentante' must adhere closely to the 'cosa rappresentata', first formulated by Maggi, became formally an inviolable precept only with Castelvetro, as a result of his strong commitments to the stage.

As for the first, unity of action, Piccolomini accepts in substance the

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son'esclusi nè il timore, nè la compassione' (*Annot.*, p. 103).

73 '. . . moderandosi, non solo l'allegrezza & la speranza . . . ma l'amore ancora, il quale di tutti gli affetti è radice, & capo' (*Annot.*, p. 103).

74 '. . . posciachè veggendo noi nei tragici auuenimenti, quanto ageuolmente di sommo grado di fortuna, all'infimo si precipiti, & quanto fallaci, & fragili siano i beni, & li contenti di questa vita, veniamo a temperare l'amore delle cose care; acciochè la perdita di quelle, che così facilmente poter'accascare, ci fa conoscer la tragedia, non ci habbia occorrendo, da perturbare, & d'affligger tanto' (*Annot.*, p. 103).

75 '. . . nientedimanco non ogni diletto è propriamente suo, nè s'ha da ricercar in lei; ma quel solo, che com'a tragedia le conuiene, & se le ricerca' (*Annot.*, p. 123).

views of Maggi and Vettori, and adds nothing new to them. Castelvetro's formulation of the rule, however, elicits a rather violent reaction. According to the latter critic, the unity of action stems from the limitations of the stage and, therefore, does not apply to the epic, which may have a variety of actions. Yet even in the epic the poet will observe the rule and show his greater excellence thereby, since it is more difficult to write a poem with unity of action. Piccolomini justly brands this theory of the 'difficulty overcome' as utterly un-Aristotelian, and recalls that the precept of a single main action is one of the fundamental tenets of the *Poetics*. He reminds us that 'the epic agrees with tragedy in many things, among which Aristotle includes unity'.[76]

The example of the classical theater and the general consensus of opinion among other commentators led Piccolomini to interpret the time element in tragedy, mentioned by Aristotle, as a precept limiting the action to a duration of twelve or thirteen hours. It is Aristotle's opinion, he explains, that 'the action must contain . . . enough space so that it does not surpass, or surpasses by a little, the daily journey of the sun over the earth, that is, twelve or thirteen hours, or thereabouts, according to the climate where the action is supposed to take place'.[77] He carefully distinguishes between the duration of feigned action and that of the actual performance. Only the imaginary action is constrained within the limits of one artificial day, whereas the performance can last four or five hours. The commonplace argument, that a longer performance imposes too great a discomfort on the audience, also prevails among Piccolomini's considerations. However, he explains that acts and interludes were discovered to relieve just that discomfort, and adds that this came about 'so that one can fancy that a greater amount of time elapses than is actually consumed'.[78]

In the light of this qualification, which allows for a greater range of the spectator's imagination, one wonders why Piccolomini could at one moment give rein to the imaginative faculty and the next fetter it by his own arbitrament. For if, as he states, acts and intermissions were created so the audiences could reasonably conceive the passage of a definite

[76] '. . . in molte cose conuiene l'Epopea con la tragedia; tra le quali pone l'vnità, come vedremo' (*Annot.*, p. 132).

[77] '. . . l'attione debbi contener . . . tanto spatio, che o non passi, o di poco passi vn diurno corso del Sole sopra la terra, com'a dir, dodici, o tredici hore, o simile, secondo il Clima, doue tal'attione auuenuta si prende' (*Annot.*, p. 380).

[78] '. . . acciochè immaginar si possa, ch'in tali interualli trapassi maggior spatio di tempo, che non passa' (*Annot.*, p. 380).

amount of time, what was there to prevent them from imagining days, months, and years had elapsed? Apparently Aristotle's incidental remark imposed itself so authoritatively that Piccolomini dared not challenge it. Furthermore, the rule was buttressed by the practice of most classical dramatists he had read.

It is significant that the unity of place introduced by Castelvetro is never mentioned in the *Annotationi*. Yet its acceptance may have been implicit in the restrictions Piccolomini unconsciously placed on his audience's imagination. By denying that an audience can imagine more than two hours of action during the intervals of a play, Piccolomini would, in deference to the principle of verisimilitude, assert the impossibility of imagining that an actor had gone to Corinth and back, all in the brief space of an intermission.

As for the epic poem, Piccolomini does not submit it to the same restrictions advocated for tragedy. Although unity of action applies to both tragedy and epic poetry, as we have already seen, the latter, in accordance with Aristotle's teaching, is exempt from the rule of time: 'The epic poem differs from tragedy in this, that it is not restricted to such a limited and precise time as tragedy; for the latter is restricted to only one journey of the sun over our hemisphere, whereas the former may encompass several months and years.'[79]

Piccolomini's treatment of comedy is limited to the discussion of the incidental remarks on this subject in the *Poetics*. He considers first the distinction between comedy and tragedy and then the ludicrous, regarded as the main source of the comic. As we have already seen, the distinction is a social one: while tragedy imitates heroes, kings, and princes, comedy represents persons of 'civil and urban circumstances, of common, ordinary, mediocre, and private state'.[80] The characters of comedy, besides being of a lower social rank, are also of an inferior type, since great qualities are not found among people of low station.

[79] 'L'Epopeia differisce dalla tragedia in questo, che non è ristretta a tempo così limitato, & diterminato, come la tragedia; essendo questa ristretta ad vn solo viaggio del Sole sopra'l nostro hemisperio; doue che quella, & più mesi, & più anni può abbracciare' (*Annot.*, p. 97).

[80] 'L'essential material differentia adunque, che la tragedia distingue dalla commedia, s'ha da intendere . . . consister in questo, che l'vna ha per soggetto persone in eminente, illustre, potente, & signoreggiante luogo poste, come son'Heroi, Re, & gran Principi; & l'altra persone di ciuile, & citadinesca conditione, di vita commune, & d'ordinario, & mediocre priuato stato . . .' (*Annot.*, p. 51).

The ludicrous is the main element of comedy and results from the imitation of persons of an inferior type. But this inferiority does not imply any kind of ugliness or vice since the ludicrous is merely a species of the ugly. Specifically it is simply a certain error or fault which does not involve bitter or consuming pain.[81] This is in keeping with the end of comedy, which is the provocation of laughter through the portrayal of faults and vices. Thus, plots based on such themes as contempt for religion, betrayal of one's country, incest, and similar crimes are proscribed by Piccolomini as unsuitable for comedy.[82] Although these deeds do not imply the destruction of a person or intense physical suffering, they deserve grave punishment and, last of all, they do not prompt laughter in the least.

Comedy is conceived by Piccolomini as a corrective of man's morals; it should portray the type of action arising from the ordinary faults of men 'deserving reproof and oftentimes laughter rather than horror and abomination'.[83] Among these lesser faults and foibles most common to mankind he lists 'the greed of old man, the deceits of harlots, the extravagance of youths, the tricks of servants, the follies of lovers, the bragging of soldiers, the lies of panderers, and so on'.[84] All these themes can be recognized as constituting the repertoire of classical comedy and that of the *cinquecento*, including Piccolomini's own *Amor costante* and *Alessandro*.

The historical basis demanded for tragedy is not required for comedy, which can be wholly fictitious. Imagination has free play in comedy where everything, from plot to characters, is feigned (*Annot.*, p. 48). But if comedy must have a didactic function, the lack of a realistic founda-

[81] 'Conciosiachè la cosa ridicolosa non sia altro, che vn certo errore, & peccato, & vna bruttezza, in somma, che non rechi seco dolor'acerbo, nè corruttiuo' (*Annot.*, p. 89).

[82] 'Per questa medesima ragione non sono accommodata materia della commedia alcuni vitij enormi . . . com'a dire, sommo dispregio della religione, tradimenti della propria patria; atti, & spurcitie veneree tra genitori, & figli, & simili altri nefandi errori, posciachè così fatti delitti non punto a riso son'atti a muouere, ma a somma abominatione, & a sommo horrore, & odio' (*Annot.*, p. 90).

[83] 'Quando adunque di sopra si è detto, che la Commedia rappresenta le persone peggiori, che communemente non sono; s'ha da intender'in quella sorte di vitij, che per circonstantie aggrauanti non saranno tali, che douentati abomineuoli, non sian più atti alla commedia; ma di quegli, ch'ordinariamente nella vita commune si truouano, che meritano più tosto semplice biasmo, & spesse volte riso, che horrore, & abominatione' (*Annot.*, p. 91).

[84] 'Ma quella sorte di minori errori abbraccia la commedia, che communemente nella vita dell'huomo si sogliono nella maggior parte delle persone, o più, o men trouare: come sono auaritia di vecchij, inganni di meretrici, prodigalità di gioueni, fraudi di serui, pazzie d'innamorati, vantamenti di soldati, bugie di ruffiani, & simili' (*Annot.*, p. 90).

tion will make it less convincing since there is a violation of the principle that 'what has happened is more credible'. Piccolomini answers this objection by explaining that the common faults and foibles of ordinary life, as viewed in comedy, are credible as they are, precisely because they are common rather than extraordinary deeds. Our daily life is a constant reminder of this. But the themes of tragedy, on the other hand, being so exalted and heroic, are too unusual to be accepted without the seal of history.

Like the rest of his contemporaries, Piccolomini describes the epic poem by applying to it *mutatis mutandis* the characteristics assigned by Aristotle to tragedy. Both genres imitate serious and illustrious persons by means of verse, but differ in that the epic is narration, while tragedy is dramatization (*Annot.*, p. 102). Another important difference is the duration of the action. The epic poem has no limitation: 'the main action of the epic may extend over a much longer period of time, not only of months, but of several years'.[85] This greater freedom permits the poet to relate events connected with the main action that take place at the same time but in different places (*Annot.*, p. 381). This lends variety and produces greater pleasure in a genre which could otherwise be boring because of its length. Nevertheless, one of the basic similarities between tragedy and the epic poem is the unity of action, which can never be violated in either instance.

The traditional high esteem for Virgil and Homer weighed heavily in the considerations of the Renaissance critics for preferring the epic to tragedy as a superior work of art. On this point those commentators were almost unanimously at odds with Aristotle, who ranked tragedy as the more excellent form. Piccolomini, like Castelvetro, is an exception to the rule. He accepts the pre-eminence of tragedy and the reasons he gives are essentially a dilution of Aristotle's own words: 'Since tragedy does not lack all the qualitative parts found in the epic . . . and since, on the other hand, any time it wishes to appear on the stage it has other parts, such as *mise en scène* and melody, which the epic has not, it surpasses the epic in perfection.'[86]

[85] '. . . l'attion primaria dell'epopeia può distendersi in molto più lungo tempo, non solo di più mesi, ma di più anni' (*Annot.*, p. 259).

[86] 'Onde non mancando alla tragedia tutte quelle qualitatiue parti, che possiede l'epopeia . . . & hauendo ella dall'altro canto, ogni volta ch'ella vuol comparir'in Scena, altre parti, le quali non ha l'epopeia, come son l'apparato, & la melodia . . . vien ella per la forza del topico luogo allegato, ad auanzar di perfettion l'epopeia' (*Annot.*, p. 418).

Lack of space makes it impossible to present a more detailed compendium of the *Annotationi*. Consequently, I have limited this study to an analysis of what may be considered the truly characteristic tenets of Piccolomini's critical thought. By way of recapitulation, it may be affirmed that his method combines various traditional elements with a closer adherence to the Aristotelian text than evinced by other sixteenth-century commentaries. In a traditional manner, he reasserts the utilitarian function of poetry. As a pedagogical tool, poetry profits the multitude through the guise of pleasure. However, it is not intended for the cultured elite, which takes its pill without a sugar coating, but for the uncouth populace. In spite of this, the poet is not considered a dispenser of scientific knowledge in verse, for both scientific and abstract subjects are deemed incompatible with true poetry.

As for the essence of poetry, Piccolomini rightly distinguishes between naturalistic imitation and artistic semblance, attributing to the latter the function of transfiguration of reality. *Mimesis* is interpreted as the actualization of an unrealized idea. While he is careful to stress that a work of art cannot be a mere replica of the reality observed by the artist, he also rejects as unsound the view that fiction is the object of poetic imitation. In accordance with his theory of verisimilitude, neither truth of fact nor fiction constitutes the object of imitation, but the unrealized idea of nature itself. This idea, existing in nature in potency only, is actualized by the poet, whose role is, therefore, the completion of nature. The verisimilar is a higher truth than reality and, consequently, it differs from the latter.

Given such a concept of *mimesis*, it follows that the importance of meter is bound to be reduced. Piccolomini faithfully follows Aristotle in making *mimesis* the mark of true poetry and accepts with the master the poetic prose of the Platonic dialogues. But, since the Stagirite had not eliminated verse entirely, he too retains it by incorporating it in his threefold classification of poetry. According to this scale, the most perfect type of poetry combines artistic semblance with verse; the median type has *mimesis* alone, and the least perfect consists of verse devoid of artistic imitation.

Throughout all this theory stands out Piccolomini's propensity to discard meter entirely. He is one of the first to sanction the practice of prose comedies and to extend the principle to tragedy. Yet, so far as the choice of meter is concerned, he returns to a traditional and aristocratic attitude, making it depend on the judgment of the cultured classes.

Tragedy is defined by Piccolomini in words that are a very close translation of Aristotle. For the most part he also succeeds in understanding the philosopher's more fundamental statements in this respect. However, he falls in step with his contemporaries when he bases the difference between tragedy and comedy on social rank.

Along with the stress he thinks Aristotle had placed on the importance of history in drama his moral preoccupations lead him to make historical realism a direct function of catharsis. In order to reconcile the passage of Agathon with the rest of the *Poetics*, Piccolomini again creates a unique classification. He distinguishes three degrees of tragedy, ranging from the wholly historical to the completely fictional, but the latter is termed as almost not a tragedy. By suggesting that playwrights utilize subjects taken from contemporary history, Piccolomini introduces an innovation with respect to the handling of historical material in tragedy.

The difficult question of catharsis is resolved by the theory of moderation as opposed to the prevalent view that all emotions are eradicated. He states that tragedy purges the excess of all emotions, including the controversial pity and fear. Catharsis itself is achieved by repeated exposure of the spectator to performances of tragedy, in other words, through habituation and exemplarism. Significantly, as Aristotle had remarked, tragedy can also achieve its effect simply through a reading.

In spite of the precedence of Castelvetro's *Poetica*, Piccolomini continues to mention only two unities, those of time and action. The unity of time he applies to the drama only, prescribing an artificial day of twelve to thirteen hours for the feigned action and about four hours for the performance itself.

Since on the question of comedy Piccolomini's remarks do not go beyond a paraphrase of Aristotle on the ludicrous and the differences between tragedy and comedy, they can be dismissed as the least important in the commentary. Finally, with regard to the preference of tragedy over the epic, Piccolomini (along with Castelvetro) emerges as one of the few critics of his day who accepted Aristotle's statement, and did not hesitate to proclaim the greater excellence of tragedy.

The importance of Piccolomini's treatise, as some of our modern scholars will admit, is by no means insignificant. For, while the Sienese commentator did not rise to the heights of Vico's intuitions, it is agreed that he did show a clear, precise, and logical understanding of the problems involved in the *Poetics*. Above all, what impresses modern criticism is Piccolomini's dexterity for simplifying and clarifying problems.[87]

[87] Guerrieri-Crocetti, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

And lest we forget that this Renaissance treatise can be useful even today, we are reminded by Prof. Saitta that the *Annotationi*, with its brief but keen interpretation of the *Poetics*, can still provide critics with material for useful discussion and a more precise understanding of Aristotelian esthetics.[88]

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[88] Saitta, *op. cit.*, p. 469.

A Sixteenth-century French Cosmic Voyage: *Nouvelles des régions de la lune*

AT THE end of *Pantagruel*, when the conquest of the Dipsodes has been successfully completed and Pantagruel has recovered from his stomach trouble, thanks to the team of stalwarts who venture down his gullet and clean up the source of his indisposition, Rabelais takes leave of his readers, but only after whetting their appetites with this tantalizing hint of what is in store for them in his next volume:

> Vous aurez la reste de l'histoire à ces foires de Francfort prochainement venantes, et là vous verrez: comment Panurge fut marié, et cocqu dès le premier moys de ses nopces; et comment Pantagruel trouva la pierre philosophale, et la maniere de la trouver et d'en user; et comment il passa les Mons Caspies; comment il naviga par la mer Athlanticque, et deffit les canibalies, et conquesta les isles de Perlas; comment il espousa la fille du roy de Inde, nommée Presthan; comment il combatit contre les diables et fist brusler cinq chambres d'enfer, et mist à sac la grande chambre noire, et getta Proserpine au feu, et rompit quatre dentz à Lucifer et une corne au cul; et comment il visita les regions de la lune pour sçavoir si, à la verité, la lune n'estoit entiere, mais que les femmes en avoient troys quartiers en la teste; et mille aultres petites joyeusetez toutes veritables.[1]

The great success of his first book seems, however, to have changed Rabelais' mind about the nature and content of its sequel. In *Gargantua*, appearing in 1534, instead of keeping his promise to continue the adventures of his heroes along the lines indicated two years earlier, he goes back in time to narrate the 'horrific' life and deeds of Pantagruel's father. And by the time the *Tiers livre* is published, after a hiatus of twelve more years, his plan has completely changed, and he appears to have forgotten the remarkable adventures mentioned at the end of *Pantagruel*. To be sure, the general concern of the *Tiers livre* and, less directly, of Books IV and V is whether or not Panurge should marry and his conjugal destiny if he does, and from all indications the reader would have witnessed

[1] *Œuvres complètes de Rabelais*, ed. Jean Plattard (Les Textes Français, II, Paris, 1946), 168–169.

both the wedding and its outcome if Rabelais had lived to complete his work. And, following the preparations made at the close of the *Tiers livre*, in Books IV and V Pantagruel, Panurge, and their friends do sail across the Atlantic Ocean and through the Northwest Passage to the Orient in their search for the Oracle of the Dive Bouteille. But of the non-terrestrial journeys promised at the end of *Pantagruel*, those to the underworld and the moon, there is no mention in Rabelais' other books. He seems to have jotted them down on the spur of the moment, as it were, in the haste with which *Pantagruel* was apparently composed, perhaps with the intention of developing them at a later time, and certainly as a clever enticement for prospective buyers of his second volume. And then he seems to have forgotten them, as travels, circumstances, and the passing of time altered his interests and concerns and those of his great work.

As a result, one can do no more than speculate about these unwritten adventures as about any of the tantalizing 'might-have-beens' with which the history of literature is filled. With regard to the 'visit to the lunar regions' by Pantagruel and his friends, it is well established, at least, that Rabelais was familiar with two of the most influential classic voyages to the moon, the *True History* and *Icaromenippus* of his favorite ancient satirist, Lucian of Samosata.[2] It is quite possible that the idea of such a trip by his heroes, casually mentioned as a 'fait accompli' in 1532 but never referred to again, was suggested to Rabelais by Lucian, and that he may at that time have planned to include the episode in his work. Beyond that any speculations, however tempting, become wild surmises. And my aim in recalling the allusion to a journey to the moon in *Pantagruel* is neither conjecture nor wishful thinking, but rather because late in the sixteenth century it was to serve as the primary inspiration for what Rabelais could have written had he chosen to do so, the first cosmic voyage in modern French literature.

In 1595 there was first published the curious but little-known continuation of the famous pamphlet the *Satyre Ménippée* that is entitled *Le supplément du Catholicon ou Nouvelles des régions de la lune*.[3] Inspired by

[2] For Rabelais' debt to Lucian, see Jean Plattard, *L'œuvre de Rabelais* (Paris, 1910), pp. 206–211. The most important references to the *True History* occur in *Pantagruel*, Chapter 32, and in *Le cinquiesme livre*, Chapter 33, but these concern terrestrial rather than celestial adventures in Lucian's work. References to Lucian's cosmic voyage, the *Icaromenippus*, appear in *Pantagruel*, Chapters 1 and 14, and in *Le quart livre*, Prologue.

[3] For the many editions of the *Satyre Ménippée* and its various supplements issued since 1593, see Jacques Brunet, *Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur de livres* (5th ed., Paris, 1860–65),

Rabelais but drawing also on the form and spirit of Lucian, this anonymous work of less than a hundred sextodecimo pages sought to make of the experiences and observations of four Frenchmen during a trip to the moon an amusing fantasy, an object lesson in the prevalence in France of hypocrisy, and a satire of the individuals and institutions against which the *Satyre Ménippée* had just been directed, in particular the Jesuits, Philip II of Spain, and the Ligue and its leaders. As a lunar voyage, the tale continues the old tradition of the genre, which runs from classic sources like Plato, Cicero, Plutarch, and Lucian to such Renaissance authors as Ariosto and Cervantes, with little change in its basic pattern.[4] It contains not the slightest reflection of such important sixteenth-century developments in astronomy as the heliocentric theory of Copernicus, the discovery and study of the 'new star' of 1572, or the revival of the doctrines of the infinity and multiple habitation of the universe, findings and speculations which by 1600 were seriously undermining the traditional Aristotelio-Ptolemaic-Christian concepts of the universe and of man's position in the scale of creation. Nor is there any concern on the part of the author of the work, such as becomes apparent in seventeenth-century cosmic voyages, to invent some pseudoscientific method of flight into

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v, cols. 143–146, and *Supplément*, ed. P. Deschamps and G. Brunet (Paris, 1878–80), II, cols. 593–595. In the absence of positive evidence to the contrary, I prefer to follow Brunet and all other scholars whom I know in assigning the date of original publication of the *Nouvelles* to 1595. Internal evidence further reinforces the conclusion that the work could not have been written before 1595. See infra, n. 7.

The earliest edition of the *Nouvelles* which I have been able to examine was published in 1599, n.p. (Library of Congress PQ 1704 A1). For the 1595 text, I have therefore had to rely on reprints. In an effort to determine the most satisfactory text for the citations in my paper, I have compared the following readily available editions of the *Satyre Ménippée*, each of which includes the *Nouvelles* and other 'pièces supplémentaires': ed. Charles Nodier (Paris: Dalibon, 1824), 2 vol. in-8°; ed. Charles Labitte (Paris: Charpentier, 1841), in-12°; and ed. Edouard Tricotel (Paris: Lemerre, 1877–81), 2 vol. in-16°. That there are many inconsistencies and errors in orthography, punctuation, and accent marks in the text of the *Nouvelles* in these editions is largely attributable to the fact that all the early printings of the *Satyre Ménippée* and its supplements were made with very little care for typographical accuracy. Variations in wording and phraseology in these reprints of the *Nouvelles* are, on the other hand, infrequent and, in my judgment, do not seriously affect its content and meaning.

In light of these findings, I have decided that all citations of the *Nouvelles* in my text should be to the Tricotel edition, II (Paris, 1881), 1–97, which purports to give the original 1595 text, and which I consider more careful and scholarly than the editions of Nodier and, particularly, Labitte.

[4] For an interesting account of the history of the genre before the seventeenth century, when the influence of the 'new philosophy' brought about important changes in form and content, see Marjorie Nicolson, *Voyages to the Moon* (New York, 1948), pp. 10–22.

space, or to attempt a serious depiction of conditions on the celestial body that is visited. The means of reaching the moon in the *Nouvelles des régions de la lune* is supernatural, and the moon-world that is described is as fantastic as that discovered by the heroes of Lucian's *True History* or by Ariosto's Astolfo. The writer of this 'supplément' to the *Satyre Ménippée* was not concerned with the ingenious devices for space travel or with the heterodox astronomical and philosophical notions which were to interest Cyrano de Bergerac and other seventeenth-century composers of cosmic voyages. He saw in the genre no more than a convenient vehicle for hurling satiric barbs at mankind in general and, even more, at particular individuals and conditions of his time.

And yet, as far as I have been able to determine, this trip to the moon, traditional in form and intent, is the first original cosmic voyage in modern French literature. As such, it is an important link in the history of the genre between the suggestion that has been noted in Rabelais and the development that was later to come in Charles Sorel's *Francion* (Book III, 1623, and Book XI, 1626) and in Cyrano's *L'autre monde ou les états et empires de la lune* (1657) and *Les états et empires du soleil* (1662).[5] It is also an interesting expression of satire in France, occasioned by the particular circumstances and difficulties in that country between 1589 and 1595, and yet with a basic concern which both echoes Lucian and Rabelais and anticipates Pascal and Molière. For these reasons, and admitting once and for all its artistic mediocrity as well as the obscurity of many of its topical references, I believe and propose to show in this paper that the *Nouvelles des régions de la lune* is a work of considerable interest which deserves more than the brief, usually slighting attention or simple neglect that have hitherto been its fate.[6]

[5] I have found no indication in their cosmic voyages that either Sorel or Cyrano was familiar with the *Nouvelles*. Nor have I discovered any evidence that it was known to the Englishman Francis Godwin, whose *Man in the Moone* (1638), published at Paris in 1648 as *L'homme dans la lune* in Jean Baudoin's translation, had some influence on Cyrano. A work as ignorant of the 'new science' as the *Nouvelles* would hardly have appealed, in any case, to such 'moderns' as Sorel, Godwin, and Cyrano.

[6] In her history of lunar voyages, Marjorie Nicolson devotes a paragraph to the *Nouvelles*, dismissing it for its failure to consider seriously means by which man may reach the moon and for the lack of verisimilitude in the moon-world that it depicts (*op. cit.*, pp. 19–20). Lazare Sainéan mentions it briefly as a mediocre imitation of the *Satyre Ménippée*, and remarks without amplification that 'la préface est remplie d'allusions à Rabelais et à son roman' (*L'influence et la réputation de Rabelais*, Paris, 1930, p. 157). Geoffroy Atkinson notes only that the framework of a lunar voyage is used in the *Nouvelles* as a means of satirizing the Jesuits and other Catholic missionaries (*Les nouveaux horizons de la Renaissance française*, Paris, 1935, p. 308). And in his monumental work on French satiric literature in

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The *Nouvelles* begins with a mock dedication to Philip II of Spain, supposedly penned by a Jesuit, which sets the general satiric tone of the work and explains its 'raison d'être'. The imaginary priest first reviews the close and mutually beneficial harmony which has always existed between the Spanish throne and the Jesuits, stressing the invaluable assistance which the Inquisition has given to Philip's efforts to extend Spanish dominion throughout Europe and the Indies. It is the Inquisition, Philip is reminded, which 'vous sert de mords et d'espron, pour retenir, et faire troter qui il vous plaist. Si quelqu'un de vos subiets vous deplaist, ou les moyens d'un autre vous plaisent, il ne faut que le signal à monsieur l'Inquisiteur, aussi tost avez la despeche de l'un, et la bource de l'autre. Bref, sans icelle, tous les pays que tenez unis, se desuniroient' (ed. Tricotel, II, 4–5). Unfortunately, however, the attempts of the Jesuits to aid Philip to gain control of France have not met with such success. In the absence of so powerful an aid as the Inquisition, their main means of assisting the Spanish cause has been to inspire or support the assassination of French kings. And although successful at times, as in the slaying of Henri III in 1589, their most recent such attempt, against the person of Henri IV, was a failure whose immediate result proved to be a disaster for the society's work in France: 'Sur la fin de l'annee derniere, nous pratiquasmes un semblable coup en la personne d'un ieune escolier, natif de Paris, lequel avoit esté instruit des son ieune aage en nostre college, et . . . se hazarda, pour avoir place en Paradis aussi bien que les autres. Et de faict fit bien davantage, car il aborda iusques à la personne du Roy, et luy donna un coup de cousteau en la face, pensant bien le puiser aillieurs. Ce fut un grand malencontre pour vous et pour nous, que ce coup ne descendit plus bas. . . . Toutesfois sa Cour de Parlement veille pour luy, et a ia fait pendre quelques uns de nos compagnons, et le reste de nous autres exilez de la France' (p. 7).[7]

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the sixteenth century, Charles Lenient calls the *Nouvelles* 'une oeuvre presque illisible', contrasts its obscure fantasy with the reality of the *Satyre Ménippée*, and concludes that the preface is the only part of the work which still retains any interest (*La satire en France ou la littérature militante au XVI^e siècle*, Paris, 1886, II, 148). Such reactions on the part of some of the best-known scholars in the fields of the cosmic voyage, the influence of Rabelais, the French Renaissance, and French satire seem, quite naturally, to have had the effect of discouraging a serious study of the *Nouvelles*.

[7] This allusion to the attempted assassination of Henri IV by Jean Châtel, a student at the Jesuit Collège de Clermont, which occurred on December 27, 1594, would appear to fix the composition of the *Nouvelles* at some time in 1595, and to eliminate conjectures that it was written as early as 1593.

Having in this manner cleverly reminded Philip of the good and faithful services his society has always rendered to the cause of Spain, and of the unhappy situation in which it now finds itself, banished from France for trying to crown its labors with the slaying of Henri IV, the Jesuit comes to the point of his epistle. It seems that a few days earlier he had met and dined with four Frenchmen, who had surprised and entertained him with an account of the marvelous adventures which had befallen them during a seven-month stay on the moon. Upon parting, one of them had given him a written report of their extraordinary voyage, including all the latest 'news' of happenings on the moon. This report he is hastening to forward to Philip, with a personal testimony of its veracity: the very night after meeting the lunar travelers, in his sleep he was transported to the moon in a basket by some 'Genius', and there he found everything set down in their account to be true. But why should the Jesuit have thought of sending so strange a report to the King of Spain? His purpose is no less than to urge Philip to recruit an army and send it off to conquer the moon, both to add new glory to the Spanish throne, and more important, to give the poor Jesuits, now banished from most European countries, somewhere to go and something to do! The priest is quite sure that this extraterrestrial conquest will prove easier than that of the Indies and certainly more successful than the ill-fated Spanish attempts to gain control of France. For, once the soldiers have secured a beachhead on the moon, Philip need only send the Jesuits there, with permission to establish a 'collège', and they will do the rest: 'Nous prescherons si bien, nous manierons si dextrement le baston, qu'en peu de temps [vous] en serés Roy. S'il ne tient qu'à seduire le peuple, le faire rebeller contre son Prince, luy apposter, et envoyer des assassins, nous en viendrons bien à bout. Les gens de ce pays là seront à vous avant qu'ils puissent descouvrir aucunes de nos ruses' (p. 9). But let Philip take pity on his loyal servants the Jesuits, and act rapidly to conquer and colonize the moon, for the society knows no other trade than that of stirring up subjects to revolt against their lawful king, and of setting them to quarreling with one another, all, of course, to the profit of Spain.[8]

[8] Miss Nicolson remarks that 'the original suggestion of lunar colonization was not British but German' (*op. cit.*, p. 29), and then quotes John Wilkins, in his *Discovery of a New World in the Moon* (1638), to the effect that this had first been the idea of Kepler. It would seem, however, that the Frenchman who wrote the *Nouvelles* should be given precedence over the German astronomer for this amusing imperialistic notion. He appears

Following this amusing dedication, which indicates the quite original 'point de départ' of the *Nouvelles des régions de la lune*, and contains some of its most clever, if typically blunt, satiric thrusts at two of its prime targets, Spain and the Jesuits, there appears a short note in which the publisher describes how the manuscript fell fortuitously into his hands, and explains that he is printing it for whatever novelty and profit it may offer its readers. More important is the preface by the composer of the work, purportedly one of the four lunar travelers, which provides interesting evidence as to its sources and its place in the history of the genre of the lunar voyage. Here it is at once acknowledged that the immediate inspiration for the tale was neither Lucian nor any ancient, but the promise of Rabelais, in the last chapter of *Pantagruel*, to relate Pantagruel's discovery of the 'philosophers' stone', his experiences in hell, and his visit to the 'régions de la lune'. Since these adventures were unfortunately never written by Rabelais, here given the appropriate epithet 'feu de beuveuse memoire' (p. 13), the writer has undertaken to do so in his behalf. His main purpose, like that of Rabelais, is to amuse his readers, 'certain', he notes, 'qu'avez bonne envie de rire, puis que le monde est plus fol qu'il ne fut onques' (p. 14). And his qualification for the major part of his task is quite simply that he had just the previous day returned from a seven-year stay on the moon.[9]

To forestall the skeptics who will scoff at the very idea of a man visiting the moon, the composer of the *Nouvelles* is careful to point out that history and legend had preserved the names of a number of people who were able to travel easily through the air, some of whom went to the moon and even farther into space. Included in his rather heterogeneous but interesting marshaling of authorities on man's ability to fly and/or visit the lunar regions are the following, in the haphazard order in which they seem to have come to his mind: Triptolemus, whom the goddess Demeter is said to have sent all over the world to teach mankind the art of agriculture, 'allant à chevauchon sur des serpents ailez' (*ibid.*); Empe-

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also to have anticipated John Donne's proposal, in his *Ignatius his Conclave* (1611), that the Jesuits be transported to the moon, although he does not go so far as Donne, who recommended that the whole society be sent there, to create not only a new empire but a new hell.

[9] It is apparently only a curious *lapsus* that whereas in his dedication to the King of Spain the author had his Jesuit refer to but a seven-month stay on the moon by the four voyagers, he now has the narrator say that the trip lasted seven years. The narrative confirms the latter period of time since, as will later be seen, the Frenchmen witness from the moon the destruction of the Spanish Armada, which took place in 1588, and do not return to France until Christmas Eve in 1594.

docles, whose presence on the moon was reported by Lucian's lunar traveler Icaromenippus and more recently recalled by Panurge (*Pantagruel*, Chapter 14); Socrates, of whom the reader is asked, 'ne vist il pas la troisiesme region de l'air dans une corbeille?' (pp. 14–15), a reminder of Aristophanes' undignified manner of bringing the great philosopher on stage in *The Clouds*; Scipio, of whom another rhetorical question is asked, 'Ciceron ne met-il son genereux Scipion à trois grandes lieues par delà le Soleil?' (p. 15), an allusion to Cicero's cosmic vision, the *Somnium Scipionis*; Perseus, who rode through the air on Pegasus to save Andromeda from the sea monster; and, in the Old Testament, Elijah, who ascended to heaven in a flaming chariot drawn by fiery horses. These disparate references, culled from literature, mythology, and Holy Scripture, at least indicate that whereas Rabelais may have been the immediate source of the *Nouvelles des régions de la lune*, its author had some knowledge of two classic cosmic voyages, Lucian's *Icaromenippus* and Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*. Lucian was, of course, one of the ancient authors most favored and widely translated by European humanists during the first half of the sixteenth century; that the writer of the *Nouvelles* probably had first-hand knowledge of the *Icaromenippus* will later be shown. The *Somnium Scipionis*, a cosmic voyage by implication if not in form, was the only part of Cicero's *De Republica* known during the Renaissance. It had been preserved independently, with a widely disseminated commentary by Macrobius, and was perhaps known to the author of the *Nouvelles*, although there is no certain evidence in his text that he was familiar with it other than by hearsay. In any case, the Lucianic tradition of the cosmic voyage, reinvigorated by the recent Rabelaisian inspiration, constituted the primary stuff of which this first French trip to the moon was made.

The narrative of the *Nouvelles des régions de la lune* is divided into eleven chapters, the first three relating various picaresque adventures on and beneath the surface of the earth, and the rest dealing with the moon. The reader is first introduced to the four Frenchmen in whose company he is to make the lunar voyage: the narrator, who is never named or described; Aliboron, the oldest of the group and its natural leader, presented as a 'ioli Monsieur, ou maistre pour le moins, homme à tout faire, et grand raillard' (p. 19); Enguerrand, 'franc archer de Bagniolet, rond comme une pomme' (*ibid.*); and Roger Bontemps, the most timid and cautious of the four, characterized simply as 'cognu en maints lieux' (*ibid.*). Beyond these brief indications, the author makes no attempt to instill life or individuality into his characters, each of whom was, in fact, a familiar

folklore figure in France by the end of the sixteenth century. The old name Aliboron, for example, had come to signify an 'ignorant qui fait l'entendu' or any 'ignorant' or 'faux savant', while the personage of the 'franc archer de Bagnolet', originating in the *Monologue du franc-archier de Bagnolet*, a comic play in monologue form of the second half of the fifteenth century, was subsequently used to personify any 'bravache couard'.[10] In the same way, the figure of Roger Bontemps, the creation of the early fifteenth-century French vagabond poet Roger de Collerye, had been taken into popular tradition as 'le type de l'homme gai, joyeux et insouciant'.

And so these well-known personages, with their ready-made traits and each very much down on his luck, meet, decide to join forces, and set out together to seek Dame Fortune. For seventeen bitter months they have no success and are about to give up their seemingly hopeless search, when one day, after an inconclusive encounter with a band of robbers as penniless as they, they retire into a wood and there chase a wild boar into a deep, mysterious cave. In the utter darkness, they soon lose their way, and after what seems a whole day of aimless wandering, they find themselves in hell, which they readily recognize by such standard props as the howling of the devils, the 'feux alumez de tous costez, et grandes chaudieres qui estoient dessuz les feux' (p. 27).

One need not be long concerned with the travelers' brief and generally commonplace experiences in the underworld. The author asserts that it is not his intention to report at any length 'des nouvelles des Enfers', but he makes sure that his readers realize that the episode is inspired by his desire to relate one of the adventures promised but never written by Rabelais: at one point in their wanderings through hell, the four friends notice that strong fortifications had been erected by the devils, 'car ils avoient entendu que Pantagruel y devoit venir avec main forte, dont se tenoient fort sur leurs gardes' (p. 32). The Frenchmen of course make various first-hand observations on the appearance, customs, and behavior of the denizens of the lower world. They learn, for example, that, contrary to legend, there is no Cerberus, for the simple reason that the

[10] This being so, I prefer to consider the presence of these familiar figures in both Rabelais and the *Nouvelles* as coincidence rather than a definite reflection of the earlier work in the later. The uncomplimentary sobriquet 'maistre Aliboron' is bestowed by Panurge upon the mute Nazdecabre who answers all his questions only with signs (*Le tiers livre*, Chapter 20), and there are allusions to the 'franc archer de Bagnolet' in *Pantagruel*, Chapter 7, and in *Le quart livre*, Chapter 55.

demons keep no pets, that the horns on their heads are straight and not curved, and that, as Rabelais had hinted, 'au lieu de queue qu'on leur peint au cul, ils ont une corne' (p. 31). They are permitted, too, to witness the punishments of different categories of the damned, but these, again, are quite traditional and unoriginal.

At length the adventurers arrive beneath 'la montagne Cagrou, que les bons Catholiques nomment le trou de S. Patrice en Irlande' (p. 32). They have reached the lower end of the legendary Saint Patrick's Purgatory, whose supposed entrance, located on a small island in Lake Derg in County Donegal, Ireland, was a frequent place of pilgrimage during the middle ages.[11] Above them rises a long passageway which, according to the little devil who has been acting as their guide through hell, may be used as a convenient means of returning to the surface of the earth.[12] But if they so desire, they may make a far more novel and longer journey through this shaft, for, adds the devil, it is a way not merely of regaining the upper world but of ascending all the way to the moon. If Aliboron and his companions wish to take advantage of their opportunity to visit the lunar regions before returning home, they have but to say so, and their guide can send them there very simply, 'par le moyen d'un petit cercle que ie feray ici' (p. 33). Only the cautious Roger Bontemps is at all taken aback by this unusual proposal, but after a brief argument he is, as usual, won over by the others, and all set about making ready for the trip.

Marjorie Nicolson has aptly summarized their preparations in these words: 'There is little consideration in the Menippean satire of means whereby man may reach the moon; it is enough for the author, as for most earlier writers, that the adventurers simply arrive there.'[13] As noted earlier, the *Nouvelles des régions de la lune* belongs with works like Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis* in the line of the supernatural cosmic voyage, a type which was to lose favor gradually during the seventeenth century

[11] References to the 'trou de saint Patrice' occur in *Gargantua*, Chapter 2, and in *Le cinquiesme livre*, Chapter 36. As in the case of the personages of Aliboron and the 'franc archer de Bagnolet', however, this is probably more a coincidental use of familiar folklore material than a reflection of Rabelais' work in the *Nouvelles*.

[12] This outlet from the lower world to the upper is reminiscent of that found in Lucian's dialogue *Menippus*, where the reader is told of a deep aperture in the earth at the shrine of Trophonius in Lebadea, through which Menippus, with considerable difficulty, crawls up from Hades to the surface. The 'rapprochement' between the hole at Trophonius and Saint Patrick's Purgatory was a natural one, which had already been made by Erasmus (*Adages*, I, 7 and 57), and which may also be found in *Le cinquiesme livre* of Rabelais' work (Chapter 36).

[13] *Op. cit.*, p. 20.

under the influence of the 'new astronomy' and of an increasing interest in the real possibility of human flight. Magic, then, is the method utilized by the author of the *Nouvelles* for his travelers' journey to the moon. Once they have determined to make the trip, the intrepid Frenchmen merely roll up their long stockings 'en forme de cueilleurs de pommes' (*ibid.*) in order to assist their flight, and then consider themselves amply prepared to travel through space, especially since their protracted poverty and semi-starvation have made them very light in weight. Next, the devil lowers his head, uses his horns as a compass to describe a perfect circle on the ground, and invites the four friends to step within it. Thereupon, spitting three times 'black as ink', he touches them with his wand, also three times, and suddenly leaps like a goat, ordering them to be off. At once, they rise miraculously through Saint Patrick's Purgatory to the surface of the earth and continue on ever higher into the air, soon losing sight of the globe below them, and all the while drinking a delightful dew and singing like larks. No other details are given of this flight from the earth to the moon, which is reminiscent in its amusing magic hocus-pocus of both Lucian's *Menippus* and Rabelais. It may be concluded that the author of the *Nouvelles* has shown as much, or as little, concern with the means of making his lunar voyage and the details of the trip through space as most writers of earlier times and even some who came later: in his *Somnium*, one of the most detailed and 'scientific' of seventeenth-century works of this type as regards the depiction of probable conditions and possible life on the moon, the great astronomer Kepler took no more pains with a method of reaching that body than to have his traveler, Duracotus, given a 'dozing draught' by a 'Daemon', one of the spirits of the moon, who then transports him through space.[14]

Before reaching the moon, the four voyagers of the *Nouvelles* are met by a beautiful lunar lady, Langue-Belle, who urges them to take heart, for they will shortly reach their goal. Having set foot without mishap on the 'cercle lunaire', they find a world that is inhabited, as they had already surmised from one ancient authority: 'car suivant l'opinion de Xenophanes, tout y estoit habité' (p. 35). The notion that there was life

[14] In fairness to Kepler, it should be noted that he was not merely trying to avoid difficulties in using such a fantastic device for flight to the moon. In his text and notes, he considered more fully than any writer before him the possible effects of gravity and rarefied air upon the human organism traveling through space. See Marjorie Nicolson, *op. cit.*, p. 45, and 'Kepler, the *Somnium*, and John Donne', in *Science and Imagination* (Ithaca, 1956), pp. 59–60, 74–75.

of some kind on the moon was widespread in sixteenth-century Europe, being attributed to such ancients as Heraclitus, Democritus, Anaxagoras, and the Pythagoreans in general, as well as to less well-known figures like the sixth-century B.C. philosophic poet Xenophanes, who is cited by the author of the *Nouvelles*. But what makes the moon-world that is discovered by his travelers unusual is that it seems at first to be inhabited only by illusory shapes and fleeting apparitions. 'Au lieu d'arbres et de verdure', reports the narrator, 'nous n'avions la veue que de falots par tout, et de phares. Au lieu d'animaux nous ne voyons que phantosmes passants et traversants' (*ibid.*). Even more confusing and frightening to the earthmen is the discovery that what appears in a certain form or identity to one of them seems totally different to another. Thus, where one thinks he sees an old goat, his companion sees rather a 'grave docteur'; where one perceives a long-eared ass, another makes it a lawyer; where Roger Bontemps exclaims at a fine procession of bishops, cardinals, Jesuits, and mendicants, the narrator corrects him, insisting that 'ce sont . . . les Espagnols qui sortent de Paris, conduits par le Duc de Feria, leur chef' (p. 36); and where Aliboron calls attention to a troop of what he believes are Ligueurs, his friends see a herd of fleeing deer, intermixed with ferocious lions, tigers, and wolves.

The satire in all these disagreements, whether general and traditional as with the 'docteur' and lawyer, or specific and topical as with the Spaniards and Ligueurs, is as obvious as it is throughout the *Satyre Ménippée*. Subtle allusion or ridicule was neither the aim nor the forte of the men who collaborated on that partisan work, or of the unknown hand which composed the similarly biased *Nouvelles*. But where the authors of the *Satyre* had ridiculed their enemies through a caricature of an historical event, the Etats Généraux convoked at Paris in 1593 to choose a king of France, the composer of the *Nouvelles* makes use of the familiar device of a foreign land or imaginary world designed as a vehicle of semi-disguised satire of figures and institutions of one's own land or world. This, of course, is the procedure not only of Lucian and Rabelais, but of later works like Cyrano's *L'autre monde*, Montesquieu's *Lettres persanes*, Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*, and many others of similar aim.

On a more general level, the phantasmagoric moon-world of the *Nouvelles* also represents an adaptation of the theme that, on the great stage that is the world, interpretations of people and phenomena cannot be fixed and absolute, but must depend upon both the particular costume and form they have assumed, and the minds and senses of the spec-

tators who view them, and that, as a result, men must learn to be on guard against outer deception and inner bias, and always seek the truth hidden behind a cover of illusion and deception. This idea, which runs like a leitmotiv through Lucian's detached and ironic observations of mankind, is also part of the essence of the Rabelaisian outlook; strong throughout *Le tiers livre*, it reaches a climax at the temple of the Dive Bouteille and the lesson that is learned there in *Le cinquiesme livre*. In the *Nouvelles des régions de la lune* the theme is modified and narrowed to meet the special situation in late sixteenth-century France which made political and religious sham widespread and dangerous, and the need for honest men not to be taken in by it all the more urgent. It may indeed be said that the aim of the author of the *Nouvelles* was not only amusing satire but a warning to his compatriots of the wave of 'fausse apparence' which had engulfed them under the guise of politics and religion. It was as an allegory of the situation in France, and not solely as an entertaining fantasy, that he imagined a moon-world of illusory forms and phantoms, whose real identity is at first a constant source of disagreement for his voyagers. Only when Langue-Belle removes the masks of deception and error which, like all men, they have previously worn, are Aliboron and his companions enabled to discern the truth on a world where, like the earth, all is unfortunately not what it appears to be.

There would be little point in examining all the experiences and observations of the 'Menippean travelers' during their stay in the strange world they have found on the moon. The motif remains the need to recognize and remove the cloak of 'fausse apparence' which conditions during the civil and religious strife of the sixteenth century had caused too many Frenchmen to wear. With this theme are blended literary reminiscences, particularly of Lucian and Rabelais, and satire, both topical and general. At one point, for example, the earthmen visit the magnificent palace of Langue-Belle, whose description recalls that of the temple of the Dive Bouteille in *Le cinquiesme livre* of Rabelais' work (Chapters 37 and 38). More directly imitated, this time from Lucian, is an event which occurs inside this palace. Just as Icaromenippus had been allowed to accompany Zeus on his daily rounds of the heavenly orifices, to hear and weigh the prayers of mortals, so are the four voyagers led by Langue-Belle to a room where they can listen to all the prayers ascending from earth. And what they hear is almost exactly what Icaromenippus had heard: 'Nous en oyons qui prioient à grands cris, que la Couronne tombast en leur maison: Autres qui desiroient la mort de leurs peres,

pour faire grand chere, et boire du meilleur. Pleust à Dieu, disoit l'autre, que ma femme fust bien morte, et que la Cour me donnast cause gaignee contre ces bonnes gens que i'ay pillez. . . . Sur mer l'un appelloit le Sud, l'autre le Nord. Le laboureur desiroit la pluie, et le tainturier le soleil, chacun diversement' (p. 45).[15]

The conclusion of this episode, finally, offers one of the clearest expressions of the Lucianic-Rabelaisian leitmotiv, the importance and danger of the problem of hypocrisy, particularly in the form of political partisanship cloaked by sham religious zeal which was widely prevalent in France during the sixteenth-century civil wars. Langue-Belle asks the voyagers, on their return to earth, to warn all men to desist from their selfish and wicked prayers to God. They should especially try to expose the deception of 'ces hypocrites qui cheminent avec une si grande ostentation de vertu. On les veoit tousiours avec leurs habits deguisez, leurs grandes barbes, leurs sourcils replissez, cuidans ainsi tromper Dieu comme ils trompent le monde. Mais quand à vous, n'en faites cas non plus que de ioueurs de farces et tragedies, ausquels si vous ostez la robe et le chapeau Royal, vous ne trouverez que des belistres louez à gaiges, pour faire rire, et estonner le sot peuple qui les regarde' (pp. 45–46). In this interesting passage, one is struck not so much by the use of one of Lucian's favorite metaphors,[16] as by an anticipation of a problem which was to be one of the prime concerns of seventeenth-century French writers, of Pascal in *Les provinciales*, of Molière in *Tartuffe*, and of many others.

As had long been, and was long to be, traditional in voyages to the moon or anywhere in space, the travelers in the *Nouvelles des régions de la lune* do not fail to take advantage of their opportunity to observe the earth from the objectifying perspective provided by their distant van-

[15] For the close similarity in ideas and even wording, the passage in Lucian should be recalled: 'The prayers came from all parts of the world and were of all sorts and kinds, for I myself bent over the orifice and listened to them along with him. They went like this; "O Zeus, may I succeed in becoming king!" "O Zeus, make my onions and my garlic grow!" "O ye gods, let my father die quickly!"; and now and then one or another would say: "O that I may inherit my wife's property!" . . . "May I succeed in winning my suit!" "Let me win the wreath at the Olympic games!" Among seafaring men, one was praying for the north wind to blow, another for the south wind; and the farmers were praying for rain while the washermen were praying for sunshine.' *Icaromenippus*, in *Lucian*, tr. A. M. Harmon, II (London: Loeb Classical Library, 1953), 311.

[16] For Lucian all the world was indeed a stage, and he a spectator surveying the actions of the performers with complete detachment and indifference. See, e.g., *Icaromenippus*, *ed. cit.*, pp. 298–299.

tage ground. Langue-Belle opens a great door in the roof of her palace, and the earthmen see their world as a little ball, floating in the middle of a large pond. This sobering spectacle at once gives rise to a reflection which appears everywhere in early cosmic voyages, in Lucian and Cicero, and later in Cyrano, Voltaire, and others: 'Le noble Philosophe Senecque n'en mentit iamais, ayant faict ce voyage comme nous, sans doute, et regardé par la trape de la Lune, quand il s'escria en si grande perplexité. *Hoc est punctum quod inter tot gentes, ferro, et igni dividitur.* Et apres regardant les hommes, luy semblants, comme certainement ils nous sembloient, de petits rats de montaigne, et fourmis fourmillants' (pp. 47–48). On examining the earth in finer detail, by what means the reader is not told, the voyagers note, naturally with great amusement and satisfaction, the destruction of the Invincible Armada of Philip II of Spain, 'Roy de tous les Diables'. From so great a distance the sinking galleons and the Spaniards jumping overboard appear to be but little butterflies laying their tiny eggs or voiding their excrement. How Philip, to whom these 'nouvelles' of the moon were purportedly being sent, would react to such an observation, not to mention the epithet, can only be left to the imagination!

From the Armada the friends turn their attention to France, and their joy is at once changed into grief at the sight which meets their eyes. Indeed, they can scarcely recognize their native land, so altered is its appearance and so numerous are the bigots, gluttons, and hypocrites who are creating universal dissension as they strive to foresee which of the contending parties, the Ligue, Spain, or Navarre, will succeed in winning the throne. The author pauses for a review of the miserable condition of France in the period between 1589 and 1595, his satire being directed in particular against Spain, the Roman Church, and the 'Sainte Union' and its leader the Duc de Mayenne, himself a candidate for the throne after the death of Henri III. He then has his narrator voice the following heartfelt outcry, a brief but not unworthy echo of parts of the angry, eloquent 'Harangue de Monsieur d'Aubray pour le tiers-estat' which concludes the *Satyre Ménippée*:

Las, m'escriai-je lors, quand auront cevé leur vin nos Princes enyvrez? Iusques à quand ne connoistront les peuples ce qui leur est propre? Ne voyons-nous ici les uns cantonnez, faisants un corps Anarchique? les autres rengez en une Aristocratie d'Ambition? Ceux cy en Democratie turbulente? Ceux-là en Monarchie tyrannique? O pauvre France, que tu as d'envieux, que de loups guettent apres ta peau! Hê, te faut-il tant de Roys? Un seul ne te suffit il pas? Tes Provinces sont autant de Royaumes, Que dis-je tes Provinces? mais tes villes plustost sont autant de retraites de Roytelets. Tu n'en peux souffrir un, et pour un

t'en naissent mille. Tu n'estoi fouetee que d'escourgees, et tu l'es ores de scorpions (pp. 51–52).

This outburst is interrupted by the sight of the assassination of Henri III by a 'petit Diable noir',[17] and, even more horrifying, of others preparing the same fate for his rightful successor, Henri IV. But the voyagers are at least relieved on being assured by Langue-Belle that all such attempts will be frustrated and their perpetrators severely punished.

Not all of the earthmen's time on the moon is spent in discerning terrestrial analogies in the strange figures they meet, in learning the lesson of 'fausse apparence', or in surveying the earth through the lunar trap door and reflecting on 'la miserable condition des hommes qui y habitoient' (p. 53). They also journey all over the moon and in so doing verify what Pantagruel had wished to ascertain, that it actually does have four quarters, and that therefore women do not 'have three-quarters of it in their heads'. But let no one inquire of the narrator of what material the moon is made, or the nature and appearance of its surface: 'Certainement, mes bons amis, ie n'en sçai que dire, ie l'ai oublié, tant avions les esprits occupez à la consideration des choses qui s'y voyoient' (*ibid.*). And if the reader is not satisfied with that excuse, his only recourse will be to go to the moon and find out for himself the answers to such questions.[18] This unoriginal but quite convenient dodging of the scientific issue at least relieves the author of the *Nouvelles* of having to try to depict the probable appearance of the moon, an undertaking for which he was no more inclined or equipped than Lucian, Ariosto, or any other writer of lunar voyages before Kepler. He is therefore free to populate his moon-world with the 'ideas' of all sorts of strange people—for, as Plato had shown, are not ideas 'immuables, immortelles, infatigables'? (p. 44)—and then have his travelers meet grubby, babbling philosophers here, and there joyous 'compagnons de la bouteille, tous bons alterez, et trinqueurs' (p. 54), who follow the advice of Rabelais and spend their time doing good and enjoying themselves. He even has Aliboron and his friends find a world beneath the surface of the moon, unsuspected by any terrestrial cosmographer or philosopher. Far less fantastic is his report that there is water on the moon (*ibid.*). Galileo himself, whose revo-

[17] I.e., the fanatic Jacobin monk Jacques Clément.

[18] Lucian made precisely the same suggestion to any reader who doubted the veracity of his assertion that from the moon he could observe at close range everything that occurred in his native land. See the *True History*, in *The Works of Lucian of Samosata*, tr. H. W. and F. G. Fowler, II (Oxford, 1905), 146.

lutionary telescopic observations of the earth's satellite were still fifteen years in the future when the *Nouvelles* was written, at first believed that there were lunar oceans similar to those on the earth. Although he later changed his mind, many of his contemporaries remained convinced of their existence, and most writers of lunar voyages long continued to take them for granted.

No matter how strange their experiences on the moon, the four voyagers never forget that their primary goal since joining forces on earth has been to make their fortune. At another point in their wanderings, therefore, they ask if they can be shown how to do so on the moon, and are rewarded when a personage who claims to be the 'idea' of the alchemist Paracelsus shows them an example of the famous 'philosophers' stone' and tells them its secret. This episode absolves the author of the last promise he had made in his preface to the memory of Rabelais, for he has now accounted, in one way or another, for a journey to hell, a trip to the moon, and the discovery of the fabulous stone. Again, however, if the reader should want a detailed description of the priceless 'pierre philosophale', so as to be able to make one for himself and live at his ease for the rest of his life, he is doomed to disappointment; this time the narrator refuses to give any details because he has no desire to aid any one who can be but a worthless good-for-nothing! Indeed, of the possible means of making one's fortune which are described on the moon, that which is emphasized as best is meant for travelers and readers of quite another stamp. As timeless as it is simple, it recalls at once the 'lesson' of Voltaire's *Candide*: 'Retenez le beau secret qu'avez ia apris, et ne laissez de travailler, aller, venir, courir, tracasser, car c'est la loy donnee du commencement par l'Autheur de Nature. Qui ne l'observera, aura beau crier les mules en temps d'hyver. Le monde est devenu sourd, il ne respond plus. De cela souvenez-vous tousiours, et faictes bien' (p. 72).

There is little interest in the voyagers' other experiences on the moon. Most of their remaining time is spent in observation of a series of paintings on which are depicted the 'beaux et genereux faicts d'armes' in France of a certain 'Jean de Lagny', recently deceased. In reality, this episode is an excessively detailed and protracted satirical 'hors d'œuvre', in which the author of the *Nouvelles* vents his spleen against one of Henri IV's most skillful adversaries, Alessandro Farnese, Duke of Parma (1545–92), leader of the Spanish army which invaded France from the Netherlands in 1590 and again in 1592. Eventually, having visited every quarter of the moon and its inhabitants 'en idée', and becoming rather bored as

well as hungry, for they have eaten nothing since entering the cave which led to hell, the travelers begin to think about how they can manage their return to earth. Langue-Belle immediately reappears and assures them that just as she has seen to it that no harm came to them during their stay, so she will arrange their journey home with even less difficulty than their flight to the moon had entailed. First, however, she reminds them that 'encore qu'on n'aperçoive rien ici qu'en idee, toutefois tout ce qu'avez veu est veritable' (p. 92). Then, as a final favor, she reveals the present and future states of the France to which they are about to return. This disclosure is made in the form of lines of verse written on a folded piece of paper. On one side is a reiteration of the wretched division of the country in the years after 1589. And on the other, beginning with the following lines, is a prophecy of the glorious future that lies in store, once Henri IV has broken the Ligue, foiled the ambitions of Spain, and restored peace, prosperity, and tolerance:

> Voicy le beau Soleil que le iour nous rameine
> Ce triomphant Henry, reietton du bon temps,
> Soubs le regne duquel tous les pauvres contents
> En repos et santé auront la bource pleine. (p. 94)

Immediately after the travelers have read these reassuring words, Langue-Belle touches them with her wand. At once they fall into a deep sleep, and in this condition, convenient for both spaceman and author and therefore long a favorite device of writers of cosmic voyages, they return to earth without harm or incident. The author of the *Nouvelles* was, however, aware that some readers might not be satisfied with so easy a way out of a real difficulty. Accordingly, just as he had done with regard to the physical make-up of the moon and the secret of the 'philosophers' stone', he has his narrator point out that it will do no good to ask how the trip from the moon was accomplished, or what were the voyagers' sensations and experiences during the journey: they were all sound asleep and knew, felt, and saw nothing until they awakened, safe again on earth. But 'realistic' details appear as soon as the action of the *Nouvelles* resumes in France. The reader is told that Aliboron and his friends awakened at ten at night, on the Christmas Eve just past (presumably in 1594), directly in front of a cabaret, The Miter and Cross, in Tours. They are astonished to find themselves back on earth, and even more so to learn that they share the same suspicion about their visit to the moon: '[Nous] ne pensions tous quatre avoir seulement faict que un songe, de tout ce qu'avions veu, et dormi une seule nuict depuis qu'avions couru

ces pays Lunatiques' (p. 95). However suggestive to the reader, such a possibility is too intangible for the hungry, homesick space-travelers to consider, and instead they waste no time in entering the cabaret. The *Nouvelles* thereupon comes to an end on another Rabelaisian motif, with an amusing account of a drinking bout between two worthies, Dandin and Perrin, well-known figures who were already a part of French folklore by the time they appeared as one person in Rabelais' *Tiers livre* (Chapter 41), and whose prowess as 'bons buveurs' the returning voyagers are called upon to judge.

II

Such is the essence of this curious trip to the moon which, appearing in 1595 as an anonymous supplement to the *Satyre Ménippée*, has since been all but forgotten because of its mediocre artistry and quickly dated topical allusions, but which deserves recognition as apparently the first cosmic voyage in modern French literature, as a continuation of the traditions of Lucian and Rabelais, and as an anticipation of the widespread concern of seventeenth-century French writers with the problem of hypocrisy. As a lunar voyage, the *Nouvelles des régions de la lune* is an old-fashioned work which reveals, on the part of its author, neither the slightest interest in astronomy or awareness of sixteenth-century discoveries and speculations in that science, nor the least concern with the real possibility of human flight. For such developments in the genre in France, one must wait for Sorel with his unexplained 'engins' for traveling to and from the moon (*Francion*, Book XI), and for Cyrano with his vials of dew and his ingenious 'rocket ship' (*Les états et empires de la lune*). The *Nouvelles* belongs rather to the tradition of the supernatural cosmic voyage, dating back at least to Cicero, in which the interest of writer and reader alike is focused not on the means of ascent from the earth, the trip through space, or the nature of the celestial body that is visited, but on the prospect of getting away in imagination from the earth, and then looking back at it in a new perspective and with a point of view made objective by distance. Such a framework, combined with the equally ancient device of satirizing individuals and institutions of one's own land through their thinly veiled counterparts in a foreign or imaginary land, seems to have appealed to the unknown author of the *Nouvelles* as an excellent vehicle for supplementing the aims of the *Satyre Ménippée*, and for thereby capitalizing on the great popularity of that famous pamphlet.

It has been seen that of earlier writers of imaginary voyages, whether

cosmic or terrestrial, he knew best Lucian and Rabelais. Specific reflections of the *Icaromenippus* and the presence of such general Lucianic themes as 'all the world's a stage' make the *Nouvelles* an interesting example of the influence of Lucian in Renaissance France. But it is an even more striking instance of the influence of Rabelais. An effort to imitate the form and spirit of Rabelais is apparent throughout the work, beginning with its presumed inspiration from the suggestion of a lunar voyage at the end of *Pantagruel*, and continuing in its content, where Rabelaisian echoes range from the names of characters and other story-telling devices to general outlook, in particular the theme that interpretations of personages and phenomena must vary according to the spectator, and that as a result every one must learn to seek for himself the truth lying beneath the surface which meets the eye.

Whether or not the author of the *Nouvelles* actually received his immediate inspiration from Rabelais, as he would have his readers believe, he took the classic literary form of the cosmic voyage, recalled certain themes and details from Lucian and Rabelais, and adapted them to his particular satiric purposes, as dictated by conditions in France in his day. The discord of the years following the assassination of Henri III, when the Ligue, Spain, and Navarre were competing for the throne on the battlefield and by intrigue, and when expediency in politics was not outdone by hypocrisy in religion, produced a situation which eventually gave rise to the outcry of anger and disgust voiced by the *Satyre Ménippée* and its various supplements. It is this background which accounts for the topical satire in the *Nouvelles*, much of it quite meaningless today to any one who is not a specialist in the history of the period. But it is the same state of affairs that explains the still meaningful attack on hypocrisy which continues throughout the work, and which makes its author often sound like a less talented Pascal or Molière. The moon-world of deceiving illusions depicted by him in the *Nouvelles*, which on the surface is only fantastic and absurd, was meant, I suggest, as an allegory of the prevalence and danger of 'fausse apparence' in the political and religious machinations of late sixteenth-century France. The remedy was for all Frenchmen to do what the lunar travelers did with the help of Langue-Belle, take the masks of confusion and error from their eyes, and see things around them in their true light.

In sum, the *Nouvelles des régions de la lune* represents a revival in France of the ancient literary form of the supernatural cosmic voyage, infused with details and themes from Lucian and Rabelais, with a particular sa-

tiric intent resulting from the political situation at the time it was written, and yet with a general message which is still pertinent. Since as a literary man its author lacked the solid talents of a Pierre Pithou, who is credited with the composition of the famous harangue of M. d'Aubray in the *Satyre Ménippée*, much more the genius of a Lucian or a Rabelais,[19] and since his work had all the inherent weaknesses of any 'œuvre de circonstance', it was destined to be all but forgotten by literary history. While this fate is perhaps deserved from the artistic point of view, it is surely not from the ideological. At the very least, it should be recognized that this neglected supplement to the *Satyre Ménippée* restored in France a classic genre which was shortly to be given new depth and vigor by Cyrano, and which was later to be worked by Voltaire into the masterpiece of the philosophic and satiric cosmic voyage that is *Micromégas*.

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[19] There is no evidence of which I am aware as to the identity of the author of the *Nouvelles*, or even as to whether he was one of the six known collaborators in the composition of the *Satyre Ménippée*, Florent Chrestien, Jacques Gillot, Jean Leroy, Jean Passerat, Pierre Pithou, and Nicolas Rapin. Nor do I believe that the work itself gives more than the vaguest indications of what kind of man he was: a patriot, probably a bourgeois, a man of some humanistic training but lacking in real literary talent, possessed of a blunt, occasionally crude satiric sense, etc. Considering the obscurity which still surrounds the writing of the *Satyre Ménippée* and the precise contribution of each of its collaborators, it seems unlikely or chanceful that the identity of the authors of its anonymous supplements will ever be known with certainty.

On the Attitude toward the *Vulgo* in the Spanish *Siglo de Oro*

> Who o'er the herd would wish to reign,
> Fantastic, fickle, fierce, and vain!
> —Scott.

FIRST of all, a delimitation of the field: in this article I intend to discuss the *vulgo*, not the *pobre*,[1] the *villano*, the *labrador*, or the *pastor*,[2] eliminating in this way the entire theme of 'contempt of court and praise of simple life'. It will be well to point out, however, that the ambivalent attitude of Golden Age Spaniards toward the *villano*, or peasant, is analogous to the ambivalence of their attitude toward the herd (*necio-discreto*) which will be our main concern.

There are gradations, and a chronological development, in the concept of what a *villano* is. Covarrubias in his *Tesoro de la lengua castellana* (1611), s.v. *villa*, declares that this signifies, in its rigorously literal meaning, the place where the peasants that cultivate the lands of a certain lord have their collected dwellings and gather at night with their animals. Those who live in such dwellings, having little contact with city people, are naturally boorish and disagreeable. 'Today', he continues, 'we give the name of *villas* to places occupied by more mannerly folk, superior to the inhabitants of other small places called *lugares*, yet inferior, as a class, to the *hidalgos*.' Among proverbs having to do with *villanos* Covarrubias records the words of Spain's national hero the Cid, 'May countrymen kill you, Alfonso', pronounced as part of the curse called down upon king Alfonso VI. Covarrubias explains: *villanos* kill with sticks and stones, utterly unmoved by pity, and over and above the mere suffering of

[1] Hernán Núñez, in his commentary on Mena's famous line *O vida segura la mansa pobreza* (taken literally from Lucan), gives a long list of other authorities in support of the idea that poverty is blessed. Commenting on Mena's *copla* LXXX, he remarks: 'persons of lesser station participate more directly in the various virtues than those of lofty station; the truth of this could be established by quoting many authorities'. See Mena's *Obras* (Anvers, 1552), pp. 450 and 162. (Here, and throughout this article, translations are my own.) On the *pobres de Dios* see M. Herrero García, *Sermonario clásico* (Madrid, 1942), p. 110 (year 1613).

[2] See below, n. 4.

death, it is a great calamity to die at the hands of such base people. He adds a final sentence: the word *villanos* gave rise to the abstract noun *villanía*, which signifies any grossly discourteous act. This entry of Covarrubias is, on the whole, hostile to the *villano*,[3] but it shows an awareness that with changing times there has been some progress away from rural boorishness.

Antithetical to the hostile attitude just described there is an opposing idea, namely that the *villano*, in his association with the soil, is near to nature and hence to God. This is especially true with respect to those rustics who are shepherds.[4] Indeed, there was a definite 'vogue aristocratique du genre rustique',[5] which we find attested also by Covarrubias.

[3] Stanley L. Galpin, *Cortois and vilain. A Study of the Distinction Made between them by French and Provençal Poets of the 12th, 13th, and 14th Centuries* (New Haven, 1905). For Spain, see María Rosa Lida de Malkiel, *Juan de Mena* (México, 1950), pp. 118–119: 'The role of the peasants was no less immanent than that of the other classes and therefore the . . . authors of medieval literature show no pity—as is well known—for the rustic or *villano*. Over against this medieval attitude which will be renewed after Trent . . ., the religious writers, thinkers and poets of the 15th century (and early 16th), already touched by humanism, open their eyes to the wretched lot of the peasants.' In n. 30 she adds that this new note involves no social protest; it merely gives honor to the toiler. For Mena, as for all the *siglo de oro*, intellectual excellence goes hand in hand with social distinction.

[4] On the blessedness of shepherds, see Hernán Pérez de Oliva, *Diálogo de la dignidad del hombre* in *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, LXV, p. 394b. On shepherds, A. de Torquemada's *Colloquio entre dos pastores* in *Orígenes de la novela*, II, 512a: 'since the pastoral life is closer to the life which nature has wished men to lead, those who lead it are guilty of no error and should be esteemed no less than those who follow after riches, delight, pomp, and honor, all of which are mere worldly vanities.' Cf. Marcel Bataillon, *Erasmo y España* (México, 1950), II, 258–259, esp. n. 21. Leo Spitzer, in 'A Central Theme and its Structural Equivalent in Lope's *Fuenteovejuna*', *HR*, XXIII (1955), p. 275, n. 1, has shown that 'the meaning of the debate of rustic characters on courtesy and love must be that true courtesy . . . is found, not in the *ciudad* (or *corte*) but only in the *aldea* [village], and that similarly true love is better known in the latter than in the former. The peasants also philosophize without any schooling in philosophy . . . they are born poets. . . . Fuenteovejuna itself is an idyllic island of primitivism in which the values of the Golden Age are still miraculously preserved . . . In this ideology . . . biblical . . . and classical themes are fused. . . . Lope's own cultural heritage is entirely at their disposal.'

[5] M. Bataillon, 'El Villano en su rincón', *BHi*, LI (1949), p. 9. Américo Castro, in *El Villano del Danubio y otros fragmentos* of Antonio de Guevara (Princeton, 1945), p. xxiv, reproduces an important text from the time of Ferdinand and Isabella: 'It was indeed a thing to be marvelled at that a simple peasant could thus reason and express himself.' 'These and similar ideas', says Castro (p. xxi), 'rested on the belief in man's natural goodness when he still preserves fresh and unspoiled the recollection of his divine origin, the whole being viewed from a Neo-platonic and Stoic point of view. . . . The faith in the human worth of both the savage and the peasant was a corollary of the faith in a spiritual inner life.' On the selfishness and malice of peasants, see Antonio López de Vega, *Paradoxas racionales*, ed. Erasmo Buceta (Madrid, 1935), p. 15.

The word *villanescas* he defines as songs sung by the *villanos* in moments of relaxation, and he adds: 'but courtiers, imitating them, have composed in the same style and measure light and merry songs. That also is the origin of the *villancicos*[6] which are so popular in the festivals of Christmas and Corpus Christi.' The *villanos* thus appear as capable not only of creating their own art forms, but also of influencing the writings of the *cortesanos*.

With this preamble we shall leave the *villanos* and examine the *siglo de oro* attitude toward the *vulgo*, people of a definitely inferior category, frequently the object of infinite scorn, yet recognized—by some of Spain's greatest writers—as not being altogether excluded from the possession of *discreción* and as being able to influence, in some respects decisively, the course of Spanish literature.

One has only to open a Latin dictionary to the word *vulgus* to find antecedents of the characteristic attitude of the humanists to the common herd: 'non est consilium in vulgo, non ratio; sapientis judicium a judicio vulgi discrepat' (Cicero). 'Odi profanum vulgus; malignum spernere vulgus' (Horace). Isidore of Seville (560–636) defines *vulgus* as *plebs* and adds: 'Vulgus est passim inhabitans multitudo, quasi quisque quo vult' (*Etym.*, IX, iv, 6). The last four words carry a suggestion of arbitrary wilfulness, of anarchy, that will still be found in Calderón. Alcuin (735–804) declares in *Epist. Kar. Aevi*, II, 199: 'Nec audiendi qui volent dicere, vox populi, vox Dei, cum tumultuositas vulgi semper insanie proxima sit.'[7] Ambrogio Calepino (1435–1511) states in his *Dictionarium* (Lugduni, 1580, s.v. *vulgus*): 'Vulgus . . . Pars populi ignobilior, plebs: à voluendo (vt quidam volunt) nomen habens, quod inconstanter stultéque huc et illuc voluatur: vnde etiam ignobile vulgus Virgilus appellauit.' *Plebs* he defines as 'vulgus, hoc est pars vilior populi'. His etymology is repeated by Covarrubias.

The word *vulgo* is not in Oelschlager's *A Medieval Spanish Word List. A Preliminary dated Vocabulary of First Appearances up to Berceo*, in the *Tentative Dictionary of Medieval Spanish* of Boggs et al., nor in Cejador's *Vocabulario medieval castellano*. In the *Celestina* (1499; ed. Cejador, II, 35) Areusa, herself definitely of the *plebs*, shares with Petrarch (as

[6] Mary Paulina St. Amour, *A Study of the 'Villancico' up to Lope de Vega* (Washington, D. C., 1940).

[7] S. A. Gallaher, 'Vox populi, vox Dei', *PQ*, XXIX (1925), p. 14. The Latin proverb (of ecclesiastical origin) means not that the voice of the people expresses heavenly wisdom, but that it is irresistible.

Castro Guisasola has pointed out) the humanistic opinion that 'Nothing is farther from the truth than a belief held by the herd . . . anything that the herd thinks is vanity of vanities; what it says is falsehood; what it condemns is good; what it approves, evil.' Juan Luis Vives, to whom the greatest human misfortune was vice, followed closely by its neighbors folly, dullness of mind, lack of understanding and judgment,[8] wrote to Juan de Vergara in 1527: 'Scis enim populum nec recte sentire nec posse tamen reticere quae sentiat.'[9] Hernán Núñez (1475–1533), in his commentary on the lines in which Juan de Mena submits his work to learned criticism, 'but not to that of gross minds, the rudeness of whose opinions ever takes the form of blasphemies', remarks: 'So said Aristophanes the poet, desiring not to be read by the common herd bereft of knowledge.'[10]

For the *siglo de oro* properly so called, A. F. G. Bell provides in his *El renacimiento español*, already cited, a list of 29 contemptuous references to the *vulgo* from novels, plays, and didactic treatises, all of them showing, according to this author, a surprising bitterness.[11] He notes also (p. 114) 'exceptional favorable attitudes', but, with the exception of a quotation from Cervantes to be noticed below, the word *vulgo* appears in none of these. Bell fails to note what had already been pointed out by Américo Castro:[12] 'Ignorance is the characteristic mark of the *vulgo*.'

The *vulgo* is the antithesis of the Stoic *sapiens*; the common herd 'nec recte sentire nec posse tamen reticere quae sentiat'. Fray Luis de Granada (1504–88) permits himself this outburst: 'If I gave thought to pleasing men, I would not consider myself a servant of Christ.[13] Certainly this much is true, that no man can be guilty of greater folly than to allow himself to be guided by a beast as many-headed[14] as the common herd,

[8] *Introducción a la sabiduría* (Madrid, 1944), p. 34.

[9] A. F. G. Bell, *El Renacimiento español* (Zaragoza, 1944), p. 116.

[10] Mena, *Obras, ed. cit.*, pp. 52–53. Yet Núñez was a collector of *refranes*, vehicles of what was later to be called—and quite respectfully—*filosofía vulgar*. See below.

[11] Much more bitter than any text cited by Bell are the words of Juan Ruiz de Alarcón, in the introduction to the first volume of his *Comedias* (1628): 'Listen, you ravening beast. . . . Here are my plays; treat them as is your wont, not as is just but as your whim dictates; for they look upon you scornfully free from fear, having survived the danger of your whistles and having to face now only the dangers of your dark closets. If they displease you it will delight me to know that they are good; if they don't, I will consider myself avenged by the money that they cost you.' Cf. the diatribe, much less effective, in the prefatory pages of Mateo Alimán's picaresque novel, *Guzmán de Alfarache* (1599).

[12] *El pensamiento de Cervantes* (Madrid, 1925), p. 211, n. 7.

[13] Fray Luis here refers the reader to Galatians, 1, 10.

[14] Cf. Calderón: 'ungrateful monster, apparition of many heads'; 'from your rattle-brained opinions, oh *vulgo*, it is obvious that you are a monster of many heads'. See R.

which takes no thought, either second or first, of what it says.'[15] Cervantes,[16] with characteristic serenity, defines the *vulgo* in clearly intellectual terms: 'do not think, sir, that I apply this name of *vulgo* only to folk of humble and plebeian station; for every man who *knows not*, be he great lord or prince, may and indeed should come under this designation'.[17] José Alcázar, in an unpublished *Ortografía castellana* composed late in the seventeenth century, while echoing the general idea of incompetent and irresponsible noisiness, sets definite limits to the *vulgo* as a social class, in terms of occupations: 'The word *vulgo* does not apply to the entire mass of citizens, nor to the masters of the more noble arts, but to tailors, shoemakers, coachmen, puppeteers and others of similar classification, who by reason of their boisterous noisiness are called *musketeers*.'[18]

This word *musketeers* (*mosqueteros*), meaning the groundlings of the pit, is of theatrical origin, and provides a transition to the second part of the present article, which will record a more favorable attitude toward the *vulgo*, that grants to it, grudgingly but unequivocally, *literary authority* in matters of public taste and a very real power to decide the fate of a given theatrical work, even though its author be the court poet Calderón.

Américo Castro, in a section of *El pensamiento de Cervantes* entitled 'The *vulgo* and the *sapiens*',[19] brings together a number of Cervantes' pronouncements on the *vulgo*, but does not sufficiently emphasize the fact that Cervantes generally qualifies his disapproval with phrases like 'almost always', 'generally', 'for the most part'. It is William L. Fichter, in his edition of Lope de Vega's *El sembrar en buena tierra*,[20] who shows that it is typical of Cervantes' fundamentally critical attitude that in almost every attack on the *vulgo* there is some expression of caution and

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Silva, 'The Religious Dramas of Calderón', *Liverpool Studies in Spanish Literature*, Second Series (Liverpool, 1946), p. 184.

[15] *Obras* (Madrid, 1768), I, 536.

[16] *Don Quijote*, ed. Rodríquez Marín (1947), II, 16. The text is well known. Bell cites it on p. 115.

[17] Cf. Gracián, *El Criticón*, ed. Romera-Navarro, II (Philadelphia, 1939), p. 178: '"What did you think?", asked the Wise Man, "that by riding in a litter one becomes wise, or that fine clothing bestows understanding? Some men are as ordinary and as ignorant as their own lackeys. Be assured that though one be a prince, if he makes bold to speak of things whereof he knows not, to give his vote regarding matters that he understands not, he is at once declared a vulgar and plebeian man; for the *vulgo* is nothing but a congregation of presumptuous fools who speak the more readily in proportion as they understand the less."'

[18] Gallardo, *Ensayo de una biblioteca española de libros raros y curiosos*, I, col. 110.

[19] Pp. 210–212.

[20] New York, 1944, n. to line 1258, pp. 198–199.

fair-mindedness in passing judgment. But we must return to Castro (p. 211, n. 7) for one extremely important detail. In the *Viaje del Parnaso* Cervantes grants to the *vulgo* of Madrid the highly intellectual[21] quality of *discreción*:

> For in Madrid the mass knows sweet discretion.[22]

Indeed, Cervantes is willing to go much farther than this. He takes the side of nature in the ancient debate on the question whether poetry is a gift of nature or a product of conscious art or training.[23] In the *Trabajos de Persiles y Segismunda*, I, xviii, he grants to *tailors*—by Alcázar's definition unquestionably members of the *vulgo*—the right to exercise the art of poetry and to be known as poets: 'It is possible for an artisan to be a poet, because poetry is not of the hands but of the mind, and the soul of a *tailor* is no less capable of poetic composition than that of a field marshal.'[24] The same thought, without the reference to tailors that so co-

[21] Dámaso de Frías, a contemporary of Cervantes, defines *discreción* as follows in his *Diálogos de diferentes materias*: 'Action is the province of the will; but the how and the why of action are the province of the understanding. Because *discreción* is none other than a habit of the practical understanding whereby we act upon things *when* and *how*, *where* and *with whom*, and with such other attendant circumstances as we *ought*.' Cervantes has Periandro say in the *Persiles*: 'She is so *discreet* that she appears to possess divine understanding.' See Margaret Bates, '*Discreción*' *in the Works of Cervantes: a Semantic Study* (Washington, D. C., 1945), pp. 1–4. The intellectual quality of *discreción*, as understood by Cervantes, is fully documented.

[22] Gracián holds a radically different view (*op. cit.*, II, 195): 'But lo and behold, all that concentrated ignorance and folly was stirred into motion, without why nor wherefore, for the *vulgo* is easily moved to turbulence, and this is all the more true if it is as credulous as the *vulgo* of Valencia, as barbarous as that of Barcelona, as silly as that of Valladolid, as disrespectful as that of Zaragoza, as fond of novelty as that of Toledo, as insolent as that of Lisbon, as given to chattering as that of Seville, *as dirty as that of Madrid*, as noisy as that of Salamanca, as prone to lying as that of Cordova, and as contemptible as that of Granada.'

[23] William Ringler, '*Poeta nascitur non fit*: Some Notes on the History of an Aphorism', *JHI*, II (1941), 497–504.

[24] See *Don Quijote*, *ed. cit.*, I, 25, n. 12. It is necessary to inquire as to the amount of irony back of these words. Cervantes is speaking, of course, only of *possibilities*: the soul of a tailor is *capable* of poetic expression. He proceeds immediately to expound the doctrine of the equality of souls in perfectly serious language, and he adds that *poeta nascitur non fit*. The equality of souls was stoutly defended by Spanish theologians of the Counter-Reformation (see Mauricio de Iriarte, *El doctor Huarte de San Juan*, Madrid, 1948, pp. 153–154). Cervantes would naturally be favorably inclined to this teaching, since he himself had been declared to be a man 'of little Latin and less Greek'. Yet there is more here than meets the eye. To be sure, a tailor—Montoro—and a muleteer—Mondragón—had been known poets even in the 15th century. In Cervantes' own 17th century there existed a very formidable 'Tailor of Toledo', friend, protégé, and even collaborator of Lope, and the butt of much satire on the part of men of letters of the 'learned' or Aristotelian school. This *sastre*

gently relates the preceding statement to the *vulgo*, appears in the prologue to Part I of *Don Quijote*. His book, Cervantes states, shall have no preliminary sonnets, at least none by lords, bishops, ladies of high degree, or illustrious poets, 'although if I were to ask them of two or three artisan friends of mine, I know that they would give them to me, and of such a kind that they would not be equalled by the verses of those who have greatest fame in this our Spain'.[25]

Cervantes thus endows the *vulgo*—or certain parts or individuals thereof—with the possibility of intellectual and artistic creativeness. It now becomes necessary to go back into the sixteenth century and trace another line of advance in the *vulgo*'s progress. Before the popularity of Lope de Vega's plays gave to the *musketeers* the opportunity to show that they had an unmercifully exacting ear to catch non-scanning lines, and that their clamorous taste in things dramatic was indeed *vox Dei* (in the sense already noted), men of learning—with Erasmus at their head—had conceded to the *vulgo* a certain nobility: the nobility of insight into the nature of the world and man, as revealed in the *refrán* or popular proverb.[26] The philologist Juan de Valdés in his *Diálogo de la lengua* (*ca.* 1535) had used the *refrán* as the most authentic source for studying the Spanish language in its native purity: 'the best thing about the *refranes* is that they are born of the *vulgo*' (ed. Calleja, p. 45). Hernán Núñez—the professor of Greek who annotated the poems of Juan de Mena with all manner of humanistic lore—was a collector of *refranes*, as was also Fray Luis de León's vindictive and learned enemy, León de Castro. The latter, in the prologue to Núñez's collection, declared: 'No one is so wise that

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even used amanuenses to write down his poems (which sometimes won prizes) and his plays (which he managed to sell). Cervantes resented him and gently satirizes him in the *Viaje del Parnaso* with jibes intended, almost certainly, for Lope. In my opinion we may confidently believe this: Cervantes honestly held that *poetae nascuntur* and regarded himself as a *born* cultivator of the muses 'who exceeded most in inventiveness', albeit without benefit of university training; he also could not forget that Lope had become 'monarch of the stage' and that Lope's tailor-protégé could sell plays to producers while Cervantes' own dramatic works lay in the most regrettable of limbos. See Francisco de B. San Román, *Lope de Vega, los cómicos toledanos y el Poeta Sastre* (Madrid, 1935), p. lxxxix ff.

[25] That there is expressed here a very real resentment against Lope is well known. Irony is almost certainly present and the words about artisans would have to be discounted were it not for the fact that Cervantes in other places defends the theory of *natural* poetic inspiration. See above. In *Don Quijote*, *ed. cit.*, II, 43, Cervantes grants to the *vulgo*, as Juan de Valdés had done *ca.* 1535, power and authority to shape the Spanish language.

[26] The *refrán* had been used with highly artistic effect in poetry by the 14th-century Juan Ruiz, in fiction by Fernando de Rojas (1499), and in the drama by Bartolomé de Torres Naharro (d. after 1530).

he can hit the nail on the head like the common people, . . . when they agree, pooling their common knowledge.' Another collector of *refranes*, Juan de Mal Lara (1527–71), has been admirably studied—from the point of view that concerns us here—by Américo Castro in *Homenaje ofrecido a Menéndez Pidal*, III (1925), 563 ff.

Mal Lara called his collection *Philosophía vulgar*. He quotes Aristotle to the effect that proverbs are, as it were, relics of a lost philosophy, 'la antigua philosophía'; there comes into being among men—all of them creatures of the hand of God—a spontaneous 'profession of wisdom'. And this wisdom is attributed by Mal Lara to the *vulgo*: 'the *vulgo* likewise expressed lofty thoughts, disguised in the language of its proverbs' (p. 568). He finds in the *refranes* wit and charm and examples of the learned figures of rhetoric: 'we also find metaphors . . ., allegories, enigmas'. And finally: 'the *refranes* are a body of knowledge of great efficacy in persuading men to embrace virtue' (*ibid.*). The *vulgo* is thus a teacher of wisdom, of virtue, and of rhetorical and literary elegance.

The *Philosophía vulgar* was published in 1568. Twenty years later—by the year 1588—Lope de Vega had become the outstanding dramatist of Madrid. His dramatic formula paid little or no heed to the precepts of the ancients or of the Italians. Its aim was to please—from the pit where the *musketeers* stood erect to the *cazuela* (stew pan) where the women crowded together in all-too-disorderly and even scandalous fashion. If it was the taste of this popular audience, of the *vulgo*, that determined the character of the Spanish drama, we must credit it with having brought about the creation of a magic fairyland that still has power to delight, and with having possessed qualities of spirit sufficiently noble to give to the Spanish national theater its essential dignity and nobility.

In his historical pronouncements and in the text of his plays Lope de Vega is not fair to the *vulgo*: 'the herd is king of all ignorance', says Alonso in *El sembrar en buena tierra*, line 1258.[27] But as Menéndez Pelayo pointed out,[28] Lope's poetic personality was a double one: on the one hand there was the great popular poet, close and dear to tailors, coachmen, and puppeteers, as well as to gentlemen of cloak and sword, and to the dukes, marquises, earls, bishops, *grandes dames*, and illustrious poets

[27] Fichter says, in his n. on this line: 'The difference between Lope's and Cervantes' comments on the *vulgo* is but one instance of the essential dissimilarity of these two great writers' (p. 199).

[28] Apud Hugo Albert Rennert and Américo Castro, *Vida de Lope de Vega* (Madrid, 1919), p. 191.

whose laudatory verses adorned Lope's books and aroused Cervantes' resentment;[29] on the other hand, there was the poet steeped in Renaissance lore, eager to vie with Ariosto in *La hermosura de Angélica* and with Tasso in *La Jerusalén conquistada*.[30] These two parts of his personality were inadequately fused, and Lope, listening to his conscience as a humanist, pleaded dire necessity—no classically conceived play would be listened to—when he set forth to the Academia de Madrid the principles of his *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias* (1609). Yet Lope was aware of the greatness of his work. He was inordinately proud of it, and he carried it out without faltering to the end of his life. The *Egloga a Claudio*, written in his old age, is eloquent in its self-praise.

In 1609 he was less confident, or less willing to appear so. Before the Academia de Madrid his *words*—each reader must imagine for himself the tone, the facial expression, the gestures with which he pronounced them—are all against the *vulgo*, the debaser of Spanish taste. Lope claims to have found the theater corrupted by his predecessors, and the *vulgo* already in the saddle. He could, and can—so he says—only follow the current, locking the *preceptistas* in a closet when he sits down to compose and removing Plautus and Terence from his study lest they become the audible voices of his humanistic conscience. When this has been done:

> I write by that new system, recently
> Invented by the followers of the herd,
> For, since their money buys my merchandise,
> I deem it but mere justice to indite
> My plays in herder's language . . .

And, what is still more surprising, the groundlings, the *mosqueteros*, are not the only barbarians:

> But none of these barbarians can be called
> More barbarous than I, since I make bold
> To violate the ancient rules of art
> And let myself be carried by the stream
> Of popular demand, with the result
> That I'm regarded as an ignorant fool
> In Italy and France . . .

This *comedia nueva* had, among Lope's contemporaries, defenders more bold than he—notably Tirso de Molina—, defenders who deserve an important place in the history of the *querelle des anciens et modernes*,

[29] *Don Quijote, ed. cit.*, I, 24 and n. 10.

[30] Dámaso Alonso, 'Lope en vena de filósofo', *Clavileño*, Año I, núm. 2 (marzo-abril 1950), 10–15.

but they did not normally concern themselves with the *vulgo* as a determining factor in Spain's dramatic history. An exception is Jusepe Antonio González de Salas, Knight Commander of the Order of Calatrava and friend of Quevedo. The *mosqueteros*, Salas realized, with their exacting demands,[31] were a 'preceptor through whom nature worked'. 'In the theater today', he says, 'we are well aware of their arbitrary tyranny, which on occasion does not lack its charm.' 'The *vulgo* did not permit the mistake of a single syllable; it was always a master which dealt severely with those who failed to satisfy it.' Salas, no deifier of the crowd, recognized that in his own day, just as in antiquity, the popular audience had an essential part to play in the making of a drama. He defends sins against academic theory which are 'the result of an effort to give pleasure to the audience. This is the adequate defense of our own comic poets when they have departed from precept, not through ignorance but motivated by a prudent desire to obtain the approbation of the popular ear.'[32]

We shall end by citing two examples of this power of the *vulgo* as exercised *inside the theater*.[33] Roque de Figueroa, one of the greatest theatrical directors of his time, tried to conciliate his audience by speaking in turn to the spectators in the various parts of the building—the benches, the pit, the rising seats on the sides, the windows that served as boxes:

> Learned and critical benches,[34]
> Kindly spirits on the steps,

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[31] Cf. Ludwig Pfandl, *Cultura y costumbres del pueblo español de los siglos XVI y XVII* (Bareleona, 1929), p. 234.

[32] Edward C. Riley, 'The Dramatic Theories of Don Jusepe Antonio González de Salas', *HR*, XIX (1951), p. 199. Georges de Scudéry (1601–67) wrote in his *Didon*: 'ayant satisfait les sçavants, il faut parfois contenter le peuple'. See Jean Rousset, *La littérature de l'âge baroque en France: Circé et le Paon* (Paris, 1953), p. 76.

[33] Authors who had eaten humble pie in the presence of the shuffling feet and the actual or feared whistles of the *musketeers* were glad to have their revenge when they printed books over which the groundlings could have no jurisdiction. Alarcón, several of whose plays pay obeisance to the *mosqueteros* in their final verses, published the attack which has already been noticed. Another instance is the case of Luis Vélez de Guevara, whose *Diablo cojuelo* has a prologue addressed 'A los mosqueteros de la Comedia de Madrid'. It begins: 'Thank God, my *musketeers* (or your own musketeers, for I will have none of you), judges of theatrical applause by force of custom and abuse, thank God, I say, that for once I take up my pen without fear of your whistles, since this account of the Limping Devil sees the light of day, conceived without taint of original *theater*, and far removed from your jurisdiction; for by your very nature you will not even read it since none of you knows how to spell; for you were born but to increase the number of the population, to act as gaping fish in the aquaria of the playhouses, taking your cue from the gestures of the actor and not by any power of intelligence you might flatter yourselves as possessing.'

[34] It was customary, at the end of a play, to appeal for benevolence in terms flattering to the audience, e.g., 'illustrious senate'.

Gentle souls behind the railings,
Wise brows of the upper loges,
Boxes whose *doctum silentium*
Overlooks our errors gross,
INFANTRY OF SPAIN, in short,
For by this time, you'll agree,
It's a little out of date
To use that old name *musketeers* . . .[35]

And the haughty Calderón, who called the *vulgo* 'a misshapen monster pardoning none',[36] confesses his fear of the *mosqueteros* and begs their indulgence at the end of his *El galán fantasma*:

I, who have trembled so often,
Desire not a thing in this world
But the generous indulgence
Of the honored *musketeers*
For the faults of these our efforts.
And now let the curtain fall
On our play, *The Phantom Lover*.[37]

Spanish literature is not one-sidedly popular. Beside the popular Lope stands Góngora, a poets' poet. But during the Renaissance the *villanos* with their *villanescas* and *villancicos*, and the *vulgo*—the *musketeers* of the cities—with their exacting demands in all things pertaining to the theater, and the *pueblo todo*—the folk in its entirety—in countless works whose charm is an immediate and direct contact with humble reality, contributed a rare beauty and a rare sense of human dignity—along with other qualities which are of the earth earthy—to the literature of Spain's Golden Age.

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[35] Hugo Albert Rennert, *The Spanish Stage in the Time of Lope de Vega* (New York, 1909), p. 118.

[36] Bell, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

[37] Rennert, *The Spanish Stage*, pp. 118–119.

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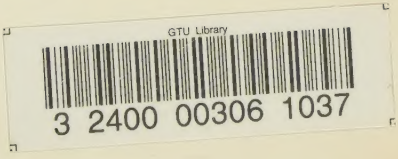
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